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June -

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Midwest Folklore

VOLUME V • NUMBER 1

SPRING, 1955

Published by

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

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Published by
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Vol. V, No. 1

Midwest Folklone

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Business Manager: Mrs. Joan Kirtley, Library, Room 41, Indiana
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Midwest Folklore

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Annual subscriptions to *MIDWEST FOLKLORE* are \$3.00 to libraries, schools, and individuals not members of cooperating regional folklore societies; members of cooperating regional societies may subscribe to *MIDWEST FOLKLORE* for \$2.50 if their subscriptions are made through the treasurers of their respective societies. Single copies may be obtained for \$1.00. Correspondence regarding subscriptions and business matters should be directed to the Business Manager, Mrs. Joan Kirtley, Library, Room, 41, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

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THE EYETURNER

(A Cycle of Finnish Wizard Tales from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan)

By AILI KOLEHMAINEN JOHNSON

In the supernatural realm of Finnish *tarinat* (*Sagen* or belief tales) we find innumerable accounts of wonderworkers of various kinds: prophets who foretell the future, seers who find lost objects, healers who diagnose ills and heal them by magic, mystics with the power to calm the wild beast, or to travel to the world of the dead. We learn of evil witches who steal milk from cows, fly over churchyard steeples at Eastertide, and dabble in graveyard mold.

From this wealth of legend, we find the enchanter emerging in two distinct roles: first, as the true *noita* (wizard), with the power of actual transformation; second, as one with the power to "turn men's eyes" so that they see whatever the enchanter wishes them to see, the *silmänkääntäjä*, or eyeturner.

Perhaps the earliest mention of Finns as deluders or eyeturners is in the 12th century account of Saxo Grammaticus', in which Arngrim, the Swede, and his men in pursuit of the Finns are "dazzled and deluded" when the Finns cast three pebbles behind them, which they "cause to appear to the eyes of the men like mountains." The obstacle flight (D 672.) continues, and the Finns cast snow on the ground to make it look like a mighty river.

Olaus Magnus² attributes similar powers to Vitolphus, leader of the Finns, who so "darkens the eyes with cloudy error" that his opponents could see neither their nearby dwelling, nor hunt "even if the tracks were plain" (D 2071.). Visenus, in his battle with the Swedes, reduced the cutting edge of weapons to dullness by his glance alone (D 2086.1.).

Knut Posse, a Swede who defended the fortress of Viborg against the Russians in 1495, was believed to have been both a shapeshifter and an eyeturner. In one legend he drew a ship upon the sand, whereupon it became real and sailed away (D 1121.0.1.). In another³, still current in oral lore in America, we learn the following:

Many years ago there was a Swede who was an eyeturner. He was head of the troops in the Finnish castle of Viipuri, fighting the Russians. When he saw them coming, he emptied a bag of feathers from the window of the castle, and the Russians below, seeing the feathers floating in the air, believed them to be white-sailed ships.

¹ Elton and Powell, *Saxo Grammaticus* Book V, pp. 203-204.

² Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Batavia, 1652), Book III, pp. 121-122 (originally published in 1555).

³ This variant was told by Jacob Harju, Gwinn, Mich'gan (aged 55 in 1945).

The Russians turned and ran away, and thus the fort was saved (D 1121.0.1.).

(It is no wonder that legends of the defense of Viborg are still told, as Zacharius Topelius includes these anecdotes in a widely read schoolbook of the 1900's, *Maammekirja, The Book of Our Land*.)

In the summer of 1946, Richard M. Dorson and I collected a number of tales in Forest Lake and Rumely, Michigan, about a man who was said to have lived at the "Time of the Great Hatred."⁴ He is spoken of as the "*Kälmi of Varpus*,"⁵ and is remembered by our informants for his tricks upon the oppressing Russians. He had the power to transform himself into a grey stump (D 216.), a black stallion (D 231.), or a wisp of smoke (D 285.1.) to elude pursuing Cossacks. He changes birch leaves into gold (D 475.1.3.) to pay a poor man's taxes to the Russian officers. Although the storytellers called this man an eyeturner, the belief in his ability to actually perform these feats, and the frequent mention of his magic journeys on a haystack (D 1520.) indicate that the *Kälmi* of Varpus was a proper *noita*, a wizard as his name indicates.

The most beloved eyeturner in Finnish American lore is *Konsti* (Trick) Koponen. In his roguish exploits, his mock transformations, *Konsti*, with the robust humor and whimsy of a Friar Rush,⁶ parallels the serious feats of wizards.

Tales of *Konsti* were told, particularly by immigrants from Savo, in the boarding houses and lumber camps of Michigan at the turn of the century, and are retold today by second and third generation Americans as well as their fathers.

My earliest recollection of these trick Koponen tales goes back thirty-five years, to a remark made by my grandfather.⁷ It had been a long, cold winter, and the farm fare of salted meat and potatoes had grown tiresome. "If only that boy, Koponen, were here," said grandfather, "he would fish us a perch from the floor cracks!" (A 2101.)

"Did you see him do that?" we children asked.

"No, but everyone knows it's true," he answered with a chuckle

⁴ "Isonvihan Aika," after 1714, a year which marked the devastation of Finland by Russian armies fighting Sweden. Informants gave us 1808 (marked by a similar devastation) as the "Time of the Great Hatred."

⁵ Richard M. Dorson, *Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 131-134. *Kälmi* means "wizard", and in his text Dorson uses the dialect spelling, *Kälämi*.

⁶ Thomas Wright, *Essays on the Subject of Literature, Popular Superstitions, and the History of England in the Middle Ages* (London, 1846), Vol. II, pp. 21-22.

⁷ Henry Hankila, Mass, Michigan. (56 years old in 1920). Immigrant from Kärsmäki, Oulunlääni, Finland.

that belied his statement. "Is that more wonderful than a pond he made (D 921.) on the dry cabin floor for the gypsies to swim in?"

Again and again the story emerges, sometimes with a lake of *piimä* (sour milk), sometimes of crystal clear water. Konsti Koponen, it seems, shared the true peasant's dislike of the roistering gypsy hordes that scoured the country-side. Once, when he was staying the night in a farm hut, a pack of gypsies came yelling loudly at the door for a bucket of milk.

"We have none! We have none!" moaned the farm wife.

"Come in! Come in!" cried Konsti. "Here you will find *piimä* aplenty. Enough to swim in!" And as the gypsies trooped into the hut, everyone there saw that the *tupa* (cabin) was filling with sour milk, to bench tops, to table tops. The gypsies scrambled to the highest ledges of the stove, and one fellow jumped into the pond, laughing loudly. His laughter changed to cries of woe, for suddenly the milk was gone, and the floor was dry as an old bone.

I repeated this tale, just as I remember it, to the family seated about the kitchen table in Gwinn, one warm evening in July, 1946. It gave rise to a spirited discussion. Aunt Hilja⁸ insisted that Grandfather had never called Koponen "Konsti." In Oulunlääni, where he came from, the trickster's name was "Kuippi." (None of us present knew exactly what this meant, but finally decided that it must be a colloquial term meaning "quick" or "clever.") Mother⁹ added that both her parents sometimes called him Aatu, and so his real name must have been Adam. Father¹⁰, however, continued to call Koponen by his Savo nickname in the tale he then related, one which the others, even my younger brother, Robert, had heard before. He told the story in Finnish, and it was quite new to me.

Konsti was a healer who sold herbs, wandering around villages in Savo. Once he was walking along the road not far from Kuopio, when he met some gypsies. They had camped on the roadside, for one of their horses was sick, and knowing Konsti's fame as a healer, they stopped him. "Look at our horse and tell us what is wrong with it," they begged.

"Gladly," said Konsti. He went over to the horse, lifted up its tail, stared at it, then said, "I shall have to go inside the horse's belly to see what is wrong. Will you hold the tail for me?"

One of the gypsies hastened to be of help, and, so the story goes,

⁸ Hilja Hankila, Republic, Michigan. Parents from Kärsämäki, Oulunlääni, Finland. (Aged 57 in 1946).

⁹ Hilda Hankila Kolehmainen. Parents from Kärsämäki, Oulunlääni, Finland. (Aged 55).

¹⁰ Theodore Kolehmainen. Immigrant from Pielavesi, Kuopionlääni, Finland. (Aged 62 in 1946).

¹¹ Actually, a mock transformation.

Konsti pushed himself into the back end of the horse¹¹ (D 231.). The gypsies waited and waited, but Konsti did not reappear. At last a man came along the road and asked, "Why are you holding up that horse's tail?"

"Konsti Koponen is in the horse's belly, looking to see what is wrong with it," the gypsies answered.

"You're crazy," laughed the stranger. "I met Konsti on the road to Kuopio, not far from Tuovila's Bay."

"That reminds me of another one," said father, and went on with another old favorite.

Once Koponen was passing the time of day with some friends in a village yard, when one of the men made a bet that he could not pass through a log, from end to end. Konsti took up the bet, and picked out a large, solid log nearby, put his head against one end, and pushed his way into the log (D 216.).

Just then a man came along, driving a wagonload of hay. He stopped his horse, climbed out of the wagon, and went over to see what the crowd was gaping at. "Why are you watching a man crawl alongside a log?" he asked.

Koponen stood up at once, and was (or pretended to be) very angry. "I'll pay you for this," he said. "Look at your haywagon!"

At that, everyone turned to look. The haywagon was afire! Some of the men ran for water, others hastened to free the horse. Suddenly, in the midst of the confusion, they heard Konsti laughing. They turned to look again, and saw that the wagon and hay were standing as before, unharmed (D 1382.5.).¹²

My mother then related in English the following story she had heard in her childhood, about 1900, in their Finnish boarding house at Bessemer, Michigan:

This time he was in a farmer's *tupa* (cabin) talking with men-folks when a rooster came strutting in through the open door.

"That is a powerful bird," said Konsti, "to be able to carry a big log." Everyone turned to look. Sure enough, the bird was balancing a log on his back.

Just then the young daughter of the house walked in, a *haituuni neiti*.¹³ "That is no log!" she cried. "The rooster is carrying a straw!" (D 2031.2.).

"You will be sorry for this," said Konsti, "Have you no shame that you come here naked?"

¹² This tale is found in Tohmajärvi, with a Lappish eyeturner. An additional motif is given, as the farmer's wife is deluded into believing her daughter is in childbed. Lauri Simonsuuri, *Myytillisiä Tarinoita*. (Helsinki, 1947), p. 238.

¹³ A "Finn-English" term meaning "high-toned miss."

Everyone turned to look at the girl, and burst out laughing. She glanced downward and ran screaming from the room. The laughter was even louder when they all saw that she was clothed as before.

My father had another ending for the story:

When the girl made fun of Konsti, he said, "I'll make you sorry for this."

The next day, being Sunday, the young woman was on her way to church. Just as she came near the threshold, she came upon a pond of water. The "high-toned miss" lifted her skirts daintily, but the water seemed deep, so her skirts went higher and higher. As she crossed the doorstep, she heard the laughter of people about her, and there she stood, with her skirts about her ears, on a dry doorstep (D 2031.1.).

I told the story of Kälmi of Varpus changing birch leaves into money, which served to remind father that this tale was also told of Konsti Koponen. "But it wasn't birch leaves, it was newspapers that Koponen changed,"¹⁴ said father.

There was a poor farmer who owed a rich man some money. The rich man would not extend the poor man's note, so the court ordered an auction sale of the farmer's land and livestock to pay the thirty thousand marks.

The auction was ready to begin, and the *vallesmanni*, the sheriff, came to hold the sale. Koponen was there, and went in to see the old farmer. "Have you any old newspapers?" he asked. The farmer brought him old newspapers, and these Konsti tore into pieces. Then in full sight of the crowd that was there, he turned to the sheriff, handed him thirty-thousand marks (D 475.2.), and asked, "Is the debt paid?"

"It is paid," said the sheriff, and give the farmer his receipt. Then he turned to the hard-hearted rich man and said, "Your debt is paid. Here is the money. Go your way."

But when the rich man got home, he found his pockets stuffed with torn newspapers (D 479.2.).

We have one instance of a New World eyeturner; an August Sundell, who moved to Munising, Michigan, bought a house, and planted a garden which grew overnight (D 1667.). One night he left mysteriously, his garden with him, and only sand and weeds greeted his neighbors the following morning. "This man was an

¹⁴ In Finnish, the word for "leaf" is *lehti*, also the word for "newspaper" and for "page," as of a book. In variants collected in Finland, almanac pages are transformed to gold.

eyeturner," say the good folk of the Forest Lake and Munising region. "The garden never existed."¹⁵

An eminent folklorist of Finland, Lauri Simonsuuri, published variants of the tales given here in his collection of *Sagen* from the Finnish Folklore Archives, the monumental *Myytillisiä Tarinoita* (Helsinki, 1947). These are complete with information as to collectors, informants, year and place of collecting. A detailed comparison of my growing collection of Finnish-American variants with the Finnish will be an interesting subject for further study.

Lauri Simonsuuri in a popular article *Silmänkääntäjät*¹⁶ gives us further background information on Konsti Koponen. Abel (not Adam) Koponen was born in 1833 in Leppävirta or Heinävesi, and died in 1890. He was a well known healer and seller of herbs, sometimes called Kuikka as well as Konsti Koponen. Like other eyeturners, he seems never to have used his gift for monetary gain or for serious injury to others.

According to Simonsuuri, the tales can be traced to Sweden, Denmark, Germany, France, Rumania, and Sicily. A German wizard of the 1600's was said to own a cock that flew over the housetops with a log in his beak. When a girl carrying a four-leaved clover in a bundle of hay saw that the log was a straw, she was punished the following day by the water-wading episode. Heliodorus, an 8th century Sicilian magician, was also said to have bewitched women into believing that they were wading in water.¹⁷ An Irish variant of the cock drawing a log, with the "eyeturner" a showman, may be found in Jeremiah Curtin's collection of Southwest Munster.¹⁸ Here the presence of the shamrock breaks the spell, but the Irish version lacks the punishment of the skeptical onlooker.

The Finnish variants are not all ascribed to Konsti Koponen, but also to various other Finnish and Lappish or "unknown" eyeturners. In all these tales, substantive and narrative motifs are interchangeable, but the basic pattern remains the same: a magician performs a transformation, or an eyeturner an illusion, and thereby outwits an adversary. In the slightly more complex tale, the illusion is penetrated by an onlooker, and the eyeturner punishes the skeptic with another illusion.¹⁹

Utica, Michigan

¹⁵ Richard M. Dorson, *Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 134.

¹⁶ *Kansan Kuvalehti*, November 29, 1947. pp. 10-11.

¹⁷ *Idem*.

¹⁸ Jeremiah Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies and the Ghost World* (Boston, 1895) pp. 154-156. Reprinted in Padraic Colum, *Treasury of Irish Folklore* (New York, 1954), p. 395.

¹⁹ These *Sagen* have been identified by narrative motifs (as indicated throughout this article) for purposes of further study and archiving, Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Helsinki, 1932), Volumes I-VI.

MICHIGAN INDIAN FOLKLORE ON THE AIR

By E. G. BURROWS

Folklorists have often been concerned with the problem of translating their findings into the language of the layman, or, to put it bluntly, "popularizing" their material. Educational radio, which is concerned with conveying accurate information to a large audience, offers one solution to the problem.

In the spring of 1954, at the prompting of Mrs. Gertrude Kurath, president of the Michigan Folklore Society, I began making plans for a series of radio programs that would tell the story of the Indians of Michigan. Since WUOM, the University of Michigan radio station, has had particular success in the field of programming for children in school, it seemed advisable to aim this series at students in the fifth and sixth grades, with the idea in mind that what was presented ably to them would also be appealing and informative to older children and adults.

The reasons for producing such a series seemed obvious. The treatment of Indians in our histories has been brief if not distorted. Children are still heavily influenced by the pseudo-historical treatment given Indians by the movies. Our aim was to tell the story of Michigan Indians, highlighting their surviving legends, music, and crafts, in order to bring about a better understanding of their historic role and their place in our contemporary American society. The singing and telling was to be done as much as possible by the Indians themselves.

Folklorists and anthropologists had already laid an extensive groundwork for this series. But since most of the material had been written for adults and specialists, the producers of our series had to assimilate and translate the wealth of research into the simplest terms. In turn, the written information had to be placed in the context of available tape recordings. Mrs. Kurath and Jane Willetts Ettawageshik of Harbor Springs had for some years been pioneering in the collection of recorded songs. These were graciously made available to me. Stories and legends, however, had been gathered in written form only or recorded in the Indian languages.

During the summer and fall of 1954, I was fortunate in being able to record a considerable body of this necessary material through the intercession and with the constant help of Mrs. Kurath and Mrs. Ettawageshik. On a visit to Ann Arbor, Eli Thomas, a Chippewa from Mt. Pleasant, recorded a number of legends in the WUOM studios. As has been pointed out elsewhere, most Indians like Mr. Thomas are as fluent and entertaining in English as they are in

their native Indian tongues. At Harbor Springs, Fred Ettawageshik most cordially permitted us to record at length in his home. We were present during the annual powwow at Hastings in August and obtained additional recordings from Jacob Sprague, A. Chingman, Blue Cloud and Eli Thomas. At Baraga in the Upper Peninsula, Mrs. Kurath obtained new song recordings from Thomas Shalifoe. Harriet Kishigo, a student at the University of Michigan, was interviewed on the attitudes and aspirations of the present generation of Michigan Indians. A special trip to Mt. Pleasant was made to secure additional materials from Betty Pamp and Eli Thomas.

The dances and traditional songs, along with a number of excellent hymns, both Catholic and Methodist, were recorded by Mrs. Kurath and Mrs. Ettawageshik, and included such singers as Blue Cloud, Dave Kenosha, Fred Lacasse, and Thomas Shalifoe. All of this material was carefully edited and continuity was added to complete thirteen quarter-hour programs. A Teacher's Manual with detailed information on the series as a whole and a description of each program was written and distributed to schools throughout the state. The Manual included suggestions for classroom discussion and projects, a brief bibliography, and photographs of all the principal Indian participants.

The first program in the series took the form of a documentary. Eli Thomas, Fred Ettawageshik, and Jacob Sprague, representing Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi respectively, explained in turn the meaning of the tribal name, where the tribe had first lived in the state, and the relationships between all three. Another program included two widely differing legends about the origin of corn. A third program was devoted to Ottawa stories about Nanabush. Used on still other programs were the stories of "How the Porcupine Got His Quills" and "The Manidu Bear." Two programs were devoted to the Indian's role during the critical British-French conflict in Michigan territory. Another explored the relation between pre-Christian and modern religious ceremonies and utilized Catholic hymns from Harbor Springs and Methodist hymns sung by the congregation at Mt. Pleasant.

In October, 1954, twenty-five commercial and educational radio stations in the state, including the University's own stations in Ann Arbor and Flint, began broadcasting these programs on a weekly basis. To date, 1600 Teacher's Manuals have been distributed to individual classrooms. The tape recordings were available free of charge to any radio station requesting them, and there was no charge for the Manual. The school station in Toledo will be using the series

in the 1955 spring semester, and several Michigan metropolitan schools have already asked that copies be distributed to them through the University of Michigan Audio-Visual Education Center.

It is too early to assess the value of this series, but the response from children, teachers, and the general public has been most gratifying. We feel that we have only scratched the surface and that much remains to be done in this area of education. We will be happy if we have succeeded in arousing a new interest and appreciation of Michigan Indian culture in the young citizens of our state and demonstrating to the public the significant research and achievements of Michigan folklorists.

University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Michigan

FOLKLORE NEWS

Michigan Folklore Society Meeting. As this issue goes to press, the following program has been planned for the 1955 annual meeting. This program revolves around the theme of Michigan Indian lore, in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the publication of "The Song of Hiawatha" by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Whatever use the poet made of Michigan Ojibwa legends gathered by his friend Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, he did make the American public aware of the existence and artistic possibilities in American Indian traditions. Governor G. Mennen Williams appointed Richard M. Dorson chairman of a Hiawatha Centennial Committee, which collaborated with the Michigan Folklore Society and its president, Gertrude P. Kurath, in arranging this meeting. The Michigan Folklore Society wishes to express its appreciation to Governor Williams for making possible the Saturday afternoon features.

PROGRAM

GERTRUDE P. KURATH, CHAIRMAN

Saturday morning, March 26, 9:30 A. M.
at Michigan State College, East Lansing

Symposium: Michigan Indian Lore since "Hiawatha".

Presiding: Stith Thompson

Speakers:

1. Mythology. Richard M. Dorson
2. Prehistory. Emerson F. Greenman

3. Religious Concepts. Louise J. Walker
4. Ceremonialism, Dance and Song. Gertrude Kurath
5. Arts and Crafts. Volney H. Jones

Discussants;

Martha E. Curtis
Aili K. Johnson
Bruno Nettl
Edwin G. Burrows

Saturday noon, 12:00 o'clock. Luncheon

Business meeting and election of officers.

Report on Place Name Project. Ivan H. Walton.

Report on Collection of Superstitions. Stuart A. Gallacher.

Exhibit: Michigan Indian Lore in Books. Chester W. Ellison.

Saturday afternoon, 2:00 o'clock

1. What We Know about the Indian Tale since "Hiawatha". Stith Thompson.
2. Chippewa Maple Sugar Festival: Dances, Songs, Stories, Crafts. Washsuhkom (Eli Thomas), Blue Cloud (Whitney Albert) and group from Isabella Reservation.
3. Reception. Richard and Gloria Dorson.

MODERN OTTAWA DANCERS*

By GERTRUDE P. KURATH

The Ottawa Indians, just as other Algonquians of Michigan, know that they are living in the twentieth century, that their material culture has changed in the last three centuries, and that their present Catholicism differs from their ancient religion. They are aware of the schism between religious rites and feasts, and the "ceremonies" admitting white audiences. They have remained on native soil, since 1741 within the precincts of their metropolis of Waganakisi (Arbre Croche or Crooked Tree), extending from Sturgeon Bay to Petoskey. They know their native language, some of their crafts, some of their dances and songs. But their Ceremony to the Sun is a revival rather than the product of an unbroken tradition, withal an intelligent and dignified revival combining tradition and innovation, naiveté and sophistication.¹

On alternate Sunday afternoons during the pleasant season of warm weather and tourist plenty, the Ottawa present their Ceremony to the Sun in Cross Village or in the Harbor Springs stadium. They own some of their inherited paraphernalia and buckskin costumes, and they supplement these with home-made copies of modern materials, at times with Plains war bonnets. One tribal member knows traditional songs and dances, while the younger people cope with imminent problems of production and publicity. The manager is a practical-minded young Ottawa, Joseph Kishigo. The chief choreographer is David Kenosha, a sixty-year-old Cross Village traditionalist.

David Kenosha or Chief Shawenimiki (Yellow Thunder) symbolizes the conflict and fusion of native and white cultures. He has always remained identified with the majestic blue waters, the golden sands, and the less majestic scrub pine, while he is a faithful member of the Holy Cross Church. He learned his songs and some dances from his grandfather, Ottawa hymns from his father, and at the parish school the Latin and English chants he sings in the church choir. He has supplemented his dance repertoire as participant in the Wisconsin Dells Winnebago programs. For twenty years he has played an administrative role in the Cross Village "Powwow." For the Sun Ceremony he repeated his familiar dances, called to memory

* This brief report represents a segment of the extensive Michigan Indian observations and recordings sponsored in 1953 and 1954 by the Michigan Academy of Science and the American Philosophical Society.

¹ The Sun Ceremony is not to be confused with the annual "Ottawa Naming Ceremony" which is neither Ottawa nor ceremonial, but glorifies prosperous white business men.

some half-forgotten lore, trained older men and women already acquainted with the dances and youngsters new to the game.

In contrast with his conservative repertoire and semi-ritualistic and subdued style, several young men bound about lustily in their own versions of tribal dances or in creations and re-creations by one of their eminent leaders, Fred Ettawageshik. They inject an essential element of horseplay.

The Ceremony compresses within an hour's time the day-long summer ceremony of 250 years ago. In his *Voyages* of 1703 Baron Lahontan thus describes the tribal gathering:²

"The Air must be Clear and Serene, the Weather Fair and Calm; and then every one brings his Offering and laies it upon the Woodpile. When the Sun mounts higher the Children make a Ring around the Pile, with pieces of Bark Lighted, in order to set it on Fire; and the Warriors Dance and Sing round 'em till the whole is Burnt and Consumed, while the Old Men make their Harangues address'd to the Kitchi Manitou, and present him from time to time with Pipes of Tobacco Lighted at the Sun. These Dances, Songs and Harangues last till Sun set, only they allow themselves some intervals of Rest, in which they sit down and Smoak at their Ease.

"We must remark that the Women likewise make Addresses to Him, and that commonly when the Sun rises; upon which Occasion they present and hold up their Children to that Luminary. When the Sun is almost down, the Warriors march out of the Village, to dance the Dance of the Great Spirit."

The Harangues by the Old Fellows made supplications such as, "Great Spirit, Master of our lives . . . command the Good Spirits to favour thy Children, the Outouas . . . preserve our Harvest and our Beasts . . . give ear to all the Children, and remember them at all times."

In the modern performance the whole group of thirty-seven dancers circles around the central fire, and groups of women and children bring special offerings. Kenosha leads off with the Sun Dance and Pipe Dance. Three young men contribute the warlike element in a Shield and a Scalp Dance. There are many animal dances and bird dances—a Swan Dance by girls, Bear, Buffalo, Raccoon, Eagle Dances by boys and men in solo or group, a Snake Dance by everyone. During a period of rest Fred Ettawageshik tells legends. At the end a Potawatomi Corn Dance and a Kettle

² W. Vernon Kinitz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1650-1760* (Occasional Contributions Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, 1940), 290-291.

Dance symbolize the feast, and all participants circle in a Thanksgiving Dance. Kenosha is the only singer. But two drummers take turns beating birch-bark-covered tom-toms constructed by Charlie Shagonaby.

All Kenosha products, solo and group, follow Ottawa patterns. They invariably progress with the sun, that is, clockwise. It would bring bad luck to reverse this direction. The Sun Dance has apparently no connection with the famous Plains Sun Dance. The dancer greets the rising sun, then repeats the gesture of supplication to the high noon orbit in the south, and follows the setting course in the west. The Pipe Dance is a dance development of a tobacco offering to the cardinal points, the earth and the sky. According to Kenosha, the tobacco offering is an old Ottawa custom, but the dance came from the West.³ In the Bear and other group dances a leader guides a file around and around, never catching up with the tail end, thus never closing the circle. When there are both men and women, the men generally are in the lead.⁴

The two favorite steps are an Indian skip—step-hop right, step-hop left—and a running step. Kenosha specializes in a two-step-step, close, step—with jiggling in the knees. The young men step-hop or add fancy Sioux-type steps or combinations of their own. They improvise gestures.

The *Bear Dance* illustrates a traditional group pattern to an old Ottawa song. Five boys step-hop in a circle, holding their hands up to their chests like paws. The dance, which could also be a male solo, is in two parts—

A. Dancers circle clockwise (Fig. 1).

B. Break formation and wander about as though lost.

Meanwhile Kenosha sings the following phrase some dozen times with variations, sometimes with a "heya heya" nonsense refrain, sometimes with words implying tenderness rather than hunter's relentlessness—

makos	ogiwena	ogasawan	mides	ogiweniyan
little cub	has lost	its mother	so it	got lost

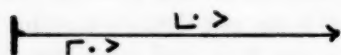
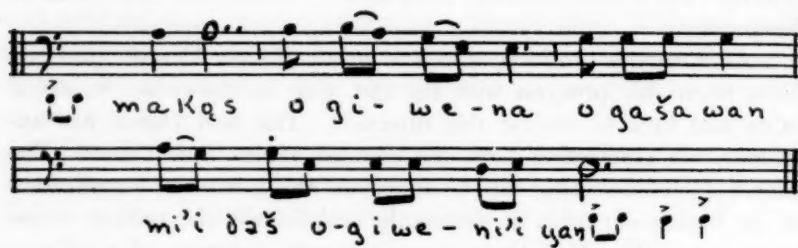
The *Eagle Dance* (Fig. 2) is at present Dells-influenced, with an old Ottawa song. Its choreography varies with the performer, thus presenting six Lower Peninsula variants. Kenosha's version has

³ Historical research suggests the tribes of the Upper Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers as the breeding ground of this type of calumet dance. See summaries in William N. Fenton and Gertrude P. Kurath, "The Iroquois Eagle Dance," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 156 (1953), 186-188, 274-275.

⁴ For rudiments of dance script see *Four Symposia on Folklore*, ed. Stith Thompson (Indiana University Press, 1953), 35-38.

Bear Dance

♩ = 108



hop
step



Eagle Dance

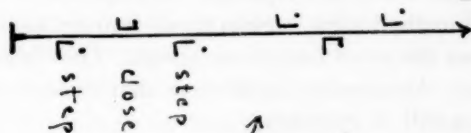
$\text{♩} = 108$



ʔnešiwək to ʔoʃonək



wa - sa ti-on ʔi - pa'a-wək



q c d i e n c e



three parts, Fred's has four. At Arbore Croche feather wings and mask are not customary.

A. With two-step, solo man sways and meanders clockwise. Dives for prey.

B. Spirals upward with five clockwise revolutions.

C. (Kenosha) Sways to exit.

(Ettawageshik) Is caught in a trap, struggles, and sinks to ground.

D. (Ettawageshik) Revives and sway to exit.

The same tune and words are repeated with variations, a verse to a dance section. Thus the longer version needs four verses, thereby adhering to the Ottawa theory of four song repeats. The "binesiwek" represent the legendary Algonquian thunderers that conquer under-water serpent-monsters still in currency.

|: binesiwek togozonok :| wasa bionjipawok
|: the birds are coming :| from far away they are approaching

The Snake Dance (not illustrated) has four parts—

A. Leader guides dance file in a serpentine course.

B. He winds into a clockwise spiral.

C. He unwinds counterclockwise.

D. He meanders to the starting point.

This pattern arrived from the Southeast via Oklahoma and Wisconsin, hence can have only a substitutive connection with the mythical serpent.

In the *Scalp Dance* Richard Wemigwase as scalper attacks Louis Wemigwase as victim; he fells and pretends to scalp him. Then as medicine man Gus Kiogima restores the victim to life. They improvise the ground plan, steps, and the adjustment to the song. Louis composed this pantomime in 1946, with Raymond Kiogima in the role of scalper, to a war song by the late Joseph Chingwa (communication Jane Ettawageshik). The song, however, is so old that Kenosha had trouble in remembering it (Fig. 3).

|: wegone wegone egadek :|
|: what's that :| hanging there?

kisakatada egadek

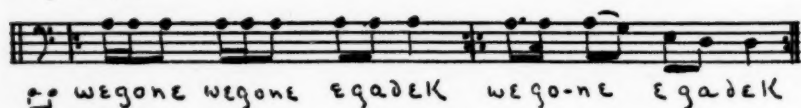
it's drying up hanging (there)

agwagotada egadek

it's shriveling hanging (there)

Scalp Dance

♩ = 92



These four dances represent three current types, the native, the importation from another Indian tribe (ultimately from the Southwest and the Southeast via the Dells), and the invention. The songs to which they are fitted lay claim to antiquity not only because of the singer's statement but by virtue of their form. The scale is typically Indian and prominently Central Algonquian tonal pattern.⁵ Its non-existent third and descending sequence rule out any chance of white influence. The narrow range and limited melody point to a long heritage. The pattern of the sequence is so recurrent from song to song as to become a formula, despite the variations from verse to verse. It features in many other Michigan Indian songs by other musicians. It is inevitable in Kenosha's repertoire. But the Ottawa texts are distinct from song to song.

In the process of disentangling the ancient and new, the melodies and their texts stand out as the most conservative element, though they do not always adhere to the rule of fourfold repetition. In the dance patterns, the single file sunwise circuit has become instinctive through long usage. Similarly the three most common steps appear traditional, though step-hop and run are popular in other tribes. The style of the performance also runs true to Indian custom—the easy posture and manner, the leisurely pace of the production (including belated commencement), the informality. At Cross Village the setting of bluff and lake recall the ancient stamping grounds. The illusion is intensified by the people themselves, their strong, tawny faces and black hair, their hide costumes in natural colors.

The changes wrought by the loss of ritualism are not peculiar to the Ottawa but haunt all Indian shows, even the best. Most obvious is the shift of performer-spectator relationship. Within their group the Indians recreate the situation of performer-spectator identification characteristic of, say, Iroquois longhouse rites. Every spectator is a potential performer in his turn. The schism between Indian dancer and white tourist is less complete when the "stage" is surrounded on three or four sides than when it is separated from the amphitheatre, as in the Harbor Springs stadium, by white conventions. There is more intimacy at Cross Village but nonetheless a barrier. The audience scrambles for a view beyond the encircling rope and an occasional intrepid photographer strays into the magic circle. Wemigwase sometimes draws the palefaces into his horseplay. But the Ottawa have not as yet instituted a final dance for all who will, as have the Sauk and Fox and western Ojibwa.

⁵ Compare the Ojibwa songs of Garden River Reserve in Frederick R. Barton, *American Primitive Music* (New York, 1909), c. g. p. 43.

The unavoidable factor of admission charge testifies to the change in economic function. Formerly the animal dances helped the hunter in landing his quarry and in thus staving off starvation. To-day they also help ward off destitution by bringing in a few (all too few) coins for the Supermarket.

The machine age obtrudes itself in various ways, subtle or blatant. The performers arrive in cars. The manager consults his watch. He announces through a microphone which also amplifies the singer's voice. One might summarize that the blare of the public address system, now an indispensable Indian instrument, has become the most distorting agent of the modern era, the most destructive of illusion. And it is one of the banes of electricity—the thunderbird's product.

Ottawa patterns have maintained individuality, while they show the effects of prehistoric roamings to east and west, of seventeenth century residence in Green Bay, of white contacts since 1618. The Peninsular Algonquians have ignored cults and fads seething west of Lake Michigan, such as the present Oklahoma-bred powow dances and feather bustle costume. At the Dells Kenosha accepted the dance forms that harmonized with ancestral styles and beliefs, perhaps as instinctive replacement of lost fragments. The western song types he rejected in favor of ancestral melodies blurred through years of decline. The young people, though less particular about authenticity, prefer their original creations to show Indianism.

Thus the dances and their song accompaniments, though loosely integrated and though segregated from ritual, provide an intelligible record of Ottawa ways, especially in their coherent production. They can never be re-instated in their religious capacity, but they can continue to function as folk arts and as factors in tribal cohesion.

Ann Arbor, Michigan

INDIAN PLACE NAMES IN MICHIGAN

By IVAN WALTON

In the place names of any area, as has long been recognized, is reflected much of the history and experience of the people who have occupied the areas, and so it is with Michigan. And although the background and general pattern and character of the names that now cover the map of the state are not notably different from those of the Province of Ontario and the other American states bordering the Great Lakes, the individual names do give us enduring evidence of much in the lives of the people concerned.

For many centuries before the first appearance of any European, the area now within the state's boundaries was the dwelling place of Indian tribes mostly of Algonquian stock, and the names still on the land are everywhere evidence of their long occupancy. Probably the first European to set foot in the area arrived about 1610,¹ and following him some years later came the French fur-traders, missionaries, and soldiers. The capitulation of French Canada to the British in 1760 changed the face of the government, but did not materially change the nature of the settlements. Nor did the British surrender of the territory to the American government in 1783 and again in 1814 much influence the basic character and occupations of the people in the area until the 1820's, when the land was opened to settlement, and a half-century tide of migration set in from the eastern states and from Europe which superimposed a mantle of new names over the whole area. This paper will be concerned with the place names contributed by and for the state's first inhabitants.

* * * *

No one knows with any definiteness when the native Indians first occupied the two Michigan peninsulas, but available evidence indicates that they were the sole possessors for many centuries. In the early 17th Century, when the first French explorers arrived, they found various member tribes of the great Algonquian family living in the region: the Chippewas (Ojibwas) in the North, Ottawas in the west central, Pottawatomies in the southwest, and in the southeast Hurons and Wyandottes who were distantly related to the Iroquois. They had a fairly well-developed language which was syllabic and to western ears not unmusical; but, except for some

¹ M. M. Quaife and Sidney Glazer, *Michigan From Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth*, (New York, 1948) 17.

crude picture symbols, it was entirely oral. The names they gave to themselves, and others, and to animals and vegetation were fittingly descriptive, as were the names of prominent natural objects such as lakes and streams, islands, mountains, valleys, and the locations of their villages. As a result the Indian names that have come down to us have come almost entirely through the writings of foreigners who in their own language approximated the Indian sounds or substituted the nearest translations. Not a few of our present "Indian" names have gone through this process twice—from the Indian into French and then from the French into modern English. The situation is further complicated, as we shall see, by the way different writers heard and expressed in writing the Indian sounds. In spite of the difficulties of transmission, a large proportion of Michigan's present place-names are of native Indian origin.

A cursory examination of the distribution of these names shows that, although one finds at least some remnants of Indian place names in every county of the state, they are much more in evidence north of a Saginaw-Muskegon line across the state than south of it. The explanation probably lies in the fact that, except for a few easily accessible points about the shores of the Great Lakes, the naming or renaming of streams, inland lakes, and other topographical features generally began in the southern tier of countries and spread northward as the land was surveyed and opened for occupancy. In the 1820's and 1830's the bloody Indian forays against the white settlers, especially in the Ohio country during the recently ended War of 1812, were not forgotten, and Black Hawk's serious threat as late as 1832 did not incline the new settlers to romanticize the Indians or to perpetuate their memory. The new settlers were much more inclined to name their new communities for themselves and for the localities from which they had migrated. As the occupied areas spread northward, however, and the Indian threat in time disappeared, more and more of the first names on the land were preserved, and more and more new communities were named for the first inhabitants.

Perhaps the first Indian name in the area that will attract our attention is that of the state itself. The ancestor of the present word "Michigan" was first applied only to the Great Lake to the westward of the Lower Peninsula, but in the 18th century it came to be applied to the surrounding country as well, and in 1805 the act of Congress establishing the Michigan territory officially applied the name to the Lower Peninsula and not to the lake. The present word is a

derivative or corruption of a Chippewa adjective-and-noun combination meaning "great" or "very large," and "lake," or "body of water."²

Lake Huron derived its name only indirectly from the Indians. French soldiers at Quebec designated the natives from the east shore of Georgian Bay who came east in the early 1600's to trade as 'les hures,' or Hurons, because they had their hair cropped in ridges so that it stood up, somewhat resembling the bristles of the wild boar; and they referred to the lake from whose shores these Indians came as "Lac des Hurons," and the name stayed with both.³ The name is also applied at the present time to the county which includes most of Michigan's "thumb," and to a village, some mountains in the Upper Peninsula, and to several rivers. The name "Erie" is said to be derived from an Indian tribe which, before the advent of any Europeans, dwelt on the south shore of the lake of that name, and were called by the Iroquois who in 1645 destroyed them, "Erige," meaning the nation of the cat or panther.⁴ Lake Superior, however, owes its present most appropriate name to the French and not to the Indians. The Chippewas who lived on both its north and south shores referred to it as *Gitche-Gomee*⁵ or *Kitchi-Gami*,⁶ meaning a great body of water in more than in mere vastness. The Jesuit missionaries, ignoring the Indian name, referred to this lake in their Relations of 1647-8 as *Lac Supérieur*, meaning, no doubt, simply the upper or northernmost lake, but the connotation of the present English translation remains us that it is not only the "upper," the most northerly of the Great Lakes, but it is also "superior" in altitude, size, depth, in violence of its storms, in the ruggedness of its coast lines, and in the mineral wealth of its shores.

Many of Michigan's rivers bear Indian names, names which at

² Fr. Wm. Gagnieur, "Indian Place Names in the Upper Peninsula," *Michigan History Magazine*, II (1918), 547. States that the name is either a contraction of "Mitchi-sagaigan (Large Lake), or by license—putting 'n' for 'm',—Michigan for Michigam, i.e., Michigami, large body of water."

W. L. Jenks, "History and Meaning of County Names in Michigan," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXVIII (1912), 440-2. States that the name in its present form is the result of many vicissitudes and the survival of many names and differing forms. Credits Fr. Allouez with being the first writer to use the term (see *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 54, 221), and adds that Cadillac in his *Memoir* of about 1697 was the first to use the present spelling.

³ *Ibid.*, 465. The early French also referred to the lake as *Le Mer Douce*. See also Geo. H. Armstrong, *Origin and Meaning of Place Names in Canada* (Toronto, 1930) 139.

⁴ Dana T. Bowen, *Lore of the Lakes* (Lakewood, Ohio, 1940) 26. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, 98.

⁵ H. R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of Thirty Years With the Indian Tribes of the American Frontiers, 1812-1842* (Philadelphia, 1851) 115.

⁶ Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 548.

times are also applied to the counties through which they flow. The Huron, named for the tribe who once lived in its valley, empties into the Detroit river just as it, in turn, empties into Lake Erie. The Saginaw, from the Chippewa *Sak-e-nong*, meaning "place of the Sauks," flows through Saginaw county and empties into Saginaw bay. The name recalls a Chippewa legend that anciently the warlike Sauks occupied the area, but were finally driven out, even beyond Lake Michigan, by the combined efforts of the Chippewas and Ottawas, but their name remained.⁷ The Indian name Shiawassee, meaning, "the river twists about,"⁸ one of the main tributaries of the Saginaw, has also given its name to a county through which it flows.

Across the state to the westward, the Muskegon flows through Muskegon county into Muskegon lake and finally into Lake Michigan. The smaller lake forms an excellent harbor for the present industrial city of the same name on its south shore. The name is assumed to be derived from the Chippewa *Maskigong*, meaning "to, or at, a swamp," a descriptive name for the original swampy or marshy nature of the lower reaches of this stream.⁹

About ninety miles northward, the Manistee likewise empties into Lake Michigan, and it, too, has given its name to a county, city, and small inland lake harbor at its mouth. The Little Manistee from the southward joins the larger stream in the harbor. The name, no doubt, comes from a Chippewa word that also applied to the Manistique in the Upper Peninsula; namely, *Manistiquewa*, meaning "crooked river."¹⁰

Similarly the Menominee and Ontonagon rivers in the western Upper Peninsula have names derived from the local Indians and these names are also applied to the counties and cities now located at their mouths. The former derives its name from the Indian tribe Menominee, related to the Chippewa, who had made their home in the vicinity for at least two centuries before being moved to a reservation in 1850. The Indian name is derived from the local wild rice, *Meno-min*, signifying their main food which grew in abundance in the river marshes.¹¹ The river forms part of the boundary between the Upper Peninsula and Wisconsin, and empties into Green bay off northwestern Lake Michigan. The Ontonagon empties into

⁷ W. L. Jenks, "History and Meaning of County Names in Michigan," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXVIII (1912), 452-3.

⁸ D. H. Kelton, *Indian Names of Places Near the Great Lakes* (Detroit, 1888) 50.

⁹ Jenks, *op. cit.*, 473.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 468.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 474. Cf. Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 456, who derives the name from *Minikani-sibi*, "river of wild rice seed."

Lake Superior just westward of the Keweenaw peninsula. The name is of Chippewa origin, probably meaning "fishing river."¹² The natives had a legend, noted by Father Baraga, of a squaw who once visited the river to obtain some water in an earthen dish, but, unfortunately, lost it in the stream, and as it disappeared exclaimed, "Nia nind-onagan! nind-onagan!" (Oh, my dish! my dish!), and the river has since been known by her exclamation.¹³ It should be added in passing that the Waiki River, which empties into a small bay of the same name just above Sault Ste. Marie, commemorates a Chippewa chief who was a party to Governor Cass' treaty of Fon-du-lac,¹⁴ and not a beverage.

Other Michigan counties with local Indian names include Washenaw, from *Wash-ten-ong*, meaning "far off in the interior," especially when applied to a river;¹⁵ Ottawa, signifying "traders," named for an Algonquian tribe from the Ottawa River area of Ontario which migrated to western Michigan;¹⁶ Ogemaw, named for a Saginaw valley chief who signed the Indian treaty of 1819;¹⁷ Missaukee, named for an Ottawa chief who signed the Indian treaties of 1831 and 1833;¹⁸ Keweenaw county, bay, and peninsula, named from a Chippewa word *Kakiwayonaning*, meaning "place where a portage is made" (across the base of the peninsula);¹⁹ Sanilac, named for a legendary Wyandotte chief who was prominent in the early wars between his tribe and the Iroquois;²⁰ Leelanau, named for the heroine of a Chippewa tale;²¹ and Chippewa, named for the largest of the Algonquian tribes who from time immemorial were associated with a large area about the Straits of Mackinac. The present name is probably a corruption of *Otchipway* or *Odjibway*,

¹² Jenks, *op. cit.*, 471. Cites as other possible originals, *Nundnorgan*, "hunting river"; *Nandonagan*, "place where game is shot by guess," that is, from a disturbance in the brush; *Nindonagon*, "lost dish."

Cf. Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 444-5. States that name appears in Jesuit Relations of 1660 as *Nantounaganing* and adds that present Indians refer to it as *Nintonagoning*, meaning "place of my dish."

¹³ *Ibid.*, See also Kelton, *op. cit.*, 26-7.

¹⁴ Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 577.

¹⁵ Jenks, *op. cit.*, 453-4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 458-9. Kelton, *op. cit.*, 44-5, derives the name from *Adawáwe*, meaning "he has (owns) furs," an obsolete name formerly applied to this tribe because of their early monopoly of the fur trade.

¹⁷ Jenks, *op. cit.*, 468.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 467.

¹⁹ Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 540. Same derivation in Kelton, *op. cit.*, 23.

²⁰ Jenks, *op. cit.*, 453. Cf. Major Henry Whiting's narrative poem, "Sannillac."

²¹ Jenks, *op. cit.*, 466. See H. R. Schoolcraft, "Leelenau, a Chippewa tale," in his *The Myth of Hiawatha and Other Oral Legends*, 299-301.

the origin of the spelling, *Ojibwa*.²² Newaygo county is named for a Chippewa chief who signed the Indian treaty of 1819.²³ The story is told that in pioneer times the local Indians were accustomed to amuse themselves in winter by coasting down a long hill on pieces of board or anything else that would work. An Indian woman who broke her "sled" rushed off to her home and returned with a big metal dishpan a trader had sold her, and was soon dish-panning down the hill shouting "New-way-go New-way-go!"²⁴

Another group of counties have what may be called synthetic Indian names that are attributed to Henry Rowe Schoolcraft.²⁵ As advisor to the state legislature on naming newly formed political areas, he suggested many of the Indian names now born by Michigan counties and worked out a method of inventing new ones, following the native pattern, by combining Indian roots and other syllables in such a way as to provide appropriately descriptive euphonious names. He first tried out his method in 1831 when as a member of the Territorial Legislative Council, he suggested the name "Arenac" for a new county being established on the north side of Saginaw bay. The word is composed of the Latin "arena," sand, and the Chippewa "ac," (ong, auk, or akke) signifying land or earth, the combination meaning "a sandy place."²⁶ He also suggested, on request, the name "Algonac" for a village near the mouth of the St. Clair River. It is made up of *Algon* from Algonquian and *ac* as above; the whole signifying Alonquian land or country.²⁷

Of the twenty-two new counties established by the state legislature in 1840, all but one were given "Indian" names—real or manufactured—and all were quite probably suggested by Schoolcraft. The next legislature, however, changed sixteen of them, some to other Schoolcraft suggestions, and out of the process came such "Indian" names as Alcona, Alpena, Iosco, Kalkaska, Mecosta, Oceola, Oscoda, Otsego, and Tuscola.

²² Jenks, *op. cit.*, 454. Says the word means "to roast till puckered up," referring to the puckered seam of their moccasins, or possibly to their torturing their enemies by fire.

²³ Jenks, *op. cit.*, 468. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, (1874-6), 302, gives as possible meaning, "much water," or "wing."

²⁴ James A. O. Crowe, *Ann Arbor News*, April 26, 1946.

²⁵ Geologist and ethnologist, American Indian Agent with headquarters at Sault Ste. Marie in 1822, member of Michigan Territorial Legislature 1828-32, and author of many volumes dealing with explorations and especially with the Indians, their language, traditions, and customs. He was genuinely interested in maintaining the native Indian place names, in naming counties for outstanding local Indians, and in establishing an Indian flavor to names of other geographical units.

²⁶ Jenks, *op. cit.*, 456-7.

²⁷ Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, 550.

Scattered widely over the state are many townships, villages, cities, streams, lakes, and islands with Indian names. In the southwesternmost part of the state is Chickaming township with a Potawatomie name meaning "at the large body of water."²⁸ Weesaw township is named for a sub-chief of the same tribe,²⁹ and nearby is Dowagiac river and city, indicating in the same tongue "a fishing place."³⁰ Near the state capitol is the city of Okemos, "little chief," named by the legislature in 1859 for an Ottawa leader whose tribe once lived on the site.³¹ Southeastward across the state is the city of Tecumsey whose name commemorates the famous Shawnee war chief who, according to tradition, often frequented the vicinity.³² About one hundred miles northwest of downtown Detroit is the industrial city of Pontiac, which remembers the great Ottawa war chief-tain who in 1763 organized the almost successful attempt to capture the white invaders' military posts in the Great Lakes region, a campaign since known as "Pontiac's Conspiracy." Southwest of Saginaw bay on the Shiawassee river are the village and township of Chesaning, "big rock place," the name applied to a well-known landmark, a big rock in the river.³³ The village of Sebewaing on a small stream near the southeast shore of Saginaw bay derived its name from *sibi*, river, and *we* or *wens*, small.³⁴ Pinconning, across on the west shore of the Bay is derived from *Opinniconing*, meaning "place of potato."³⁵ On northward are the twin cities of Tawas and East Tawas, and also Tawas Point, all three of which commemorate an Ottawa chief Otawas, "Little Ottawa," who once lived in this area.³⁶

At the north end of Green Bay, Lake Michigan, are Big and Little Bay de Noc, a contraction of *Baie de Noquet* or *Non-o-quet*. The name is probably derived from that of a sub-tribe of the Menominee who anciently lived there.³⁷ Just above the mouth of the St. Mary's

²⁸ George B. Fox, "Place Names of Berrien County," *Michigan History Magazine*, VII (1924), 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

³⁰ George B. Fox, "Place Names of Cass County," *Michigan History Magazine*, XXVII (1943), 466-7.

³¹ Theo. G. Foster, "Place Names in Ingham County," *Michigan History Magazine*, XXVI (1942) 504-5.

³² Mrs. Frank D. Dodge, "Landmarks in Lenawee County," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXVIII (1912), 480-2.

³³ Fred Dustin, "Some Indian Place Names Around Saginaw," *Michigan History Magazine*, XII (1928), 735.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 732.

³⁵ *Michigan, A Guide to the Wolverine State* (New York, 1941), p. 488.

³⁶ D. H. Kelton, *Indian Names and History of Sault Ste. Marie*, 30.

³⁷ Gagnieur, "Indian Place Names in the Upper Peninsula," *Michigan History Magazine*, II (1918), 548-9.

river at Detour Passage is an irregularly shaped bay still wearing the original Chippewa name *Potagannissing*. The meaning is now quite uncertain. It has the locative or "place" ending and may refer to the island "gaps" in the old portage route between Georgian Bay and Lake Superior or to the "mortar shaped" bay on the northwest side of Drummond Island.³⁸ The same name was originally applied to this island as well, but the British forces after withdrawing from Mackinac Island, at the close of the War of 1812, to St. Joseph Island, made a second withdrawal to this island, assuming that St. Joseph would become American territory and this one would remain British. They built a fort upon it, and renamed the island in honor of Sir Gordon Drummond, a ranking British commander in that war. The boundary commission, however, decided just opposite to their guess, so the once Chippewa-named Michigan island now has the name of a former enemy general.³⁹

On up the St. Mary's are Munuscong Lake, River, and village. The name is a variant spelling of the Chippewa *Minashkong*, or "place of rushes," a favorite source of rushes for local Indian use in making mats.⁴⁰ Directly north of this lake is Neebish Island which at the present time separates the recently dredged up-bound (east) and down-bound (west) channels to and from Lake Superior. The specific meaning of this Chippewa word is also uncertain. It may signify "leaf (shaped) island,"⁴¹ or possibly, as Schoolcraft surmised, it may signify "strong, or swift water," which characterized the west channel, the canoe route, before it was dredged.⁴²

Beyond Sault Ste. Marie on the south side of the head of the rapids is Iroquois point, also called by the local Chippewa *Nadowey Wiganing*, or "place of Iroquois bones." The name commemorates the Chippewa-Ottawa victory over a large band of invading Iroquois about 1680. The latter had come from eastern Canada intending to intercept a group of French traders coming down from Chequamegon bay, but the local warriors made a surprise early morning attack upon their old enemies and nearly annihilated them.⁴³

On further westward about half the length of the Peninsula are three cities with apparently good Indian names, but inquiry at once

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 553-4.

³⁹ Fred Landon, *Lake Huron* (Indianapolis, 1943) 196.

⁴⁰ Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 535.

⁴¹ Kelton, *op. cit.*, 26.

⁴² H. R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years With the Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia, 1851) 89 n.

⁴³ Grace Lee Nute, *Lake Superior* (Indianapolis, 1943) 29. Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 537.

shows us that they commemorate only the aptness of Indian names and not any traditional events or individuals. Munising, located on the mainland opposite Grand Island, has as its name the locative case of the Chippewa, *miniss*, island, and fittingly means simply "place of the island." It was selected and applied by the white founders of the city.⁴⁴ The twin cities of Negaunee and Ishpeming were both named by Peter White, local industrialist and benefactor. The first is a variant spelling of the Chippewa *Ni-ga-ni*, "he walks foremost," or "is ahead" (the pioneer), and commemorates the site of the first or pioneer iron ore furnace in the area.⁴⁵ Ishpeming signifies place of high ground, or high in a figurative sense, or "Heaven,"⁴⁶ and probably indicates not only the altitude of the city, but possibly some dreams of the founders.

Another group of place names of Indian origin are quite disguised since they now appear only in English dress. The *Ma(w)-tchi*, (bad) *si-bi* (river) which empties into the Shiawassee near St. Charles in Saginaw County is now simply Bad River.⁴⁷ The *kitchi* (big) *namebin* (sucker-carp) *sibi* in Marquette county is today (Big) Carp River;⁴⁸ the former *Migisiw* (eagle) *sibi* in Keweenaw peninsula is now Eagle River.⁴⁹ Local Indian *Wigwass* (birchbark) *sibi* near Escanaba, is now called simply Bark River.⁵⁰ Sugar Island in the St. Mary's River was known to the Chippewa as *Sisibakwato Miniss* or "Sugartree Island," a place where they gathered each spring to make maple sugar.⁵¹ The North and South Fox Islands in northern Lake Michigan were known to the natives as *Waugoshe* (fox) *miniss*.⁵² Torch Lake in Houghton County had the Chippewa name *Wasswèwining*, or "place where they spear fish by torch light."⁵³ And the Porcupine Mountains have their present name as a result of some Chippewa hunter fancying he saw in them a *Kaug Wudju* or crouching porcupine.⁵⁴

The Big and Little Two-Hearted Rivers, good trout streams,

⁴⁴ Kelton, *op. cit.*, 25.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 26. Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 542.

⁴⁶ Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 542. A. J. Chamberlain, "Nanibozho Amongst the Algonquian Tribes," JAF, IV (1891), 200.

⁴⁷ Dustin, *op. cit.*, 733.

⁴⁸ Kelton, *op. cit.*, 20.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁰ Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 544.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 535.

⁵² Wm. F. Lawler, "Michigan Islands," *Michigan History Magazine*, XXII (1938), 301.

⁵³ Kelton, *op. cit.*, 30.

⁵⁴ Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, 360.

which empty into Lake Superior just west of Whitefish Point, derived their names in a slightly different way, from a mistranslation. The original Chippewa name was *Nizhóde* (two, or twin) *sibi*, so named because their outlets were near together. Had the major accent been on the last syllable, *Nizhodé*, the meaning would have been "two-hearted river."⁵⁵

Some Indian place names are still further disguised as a result of having been translated or transliterated first into French and from the French into English. One such name that so developed and now causes much confusion is the one applied to the well-known island just east of Point St. Ignace, and also to the Straits which separate the two Peninsulas. The Chippewa name of the island and generally of the surrounding area when the first French arrived seems to have been *Mish-i-nim-auk-in-ong* which the early French missionaries generally expressed as *Mich-i-li-mack-in-ac* (auk) and in time reduced to Mackinac. This French-modified Indian name is still applied to the island, to the Straits, and to the county bordering the north shore of the Straits. The village and city that developed later on the site of the old fort on the tip of the southern mainland adopted the English transliteration of the French word, and it became designated Mackinaw. The pronunciation of the last syllable for both spellings is "aw."⁵⁶ The name has been interpreted in a number of ways, including "the giant turtle," "place of the giant fairies," and "place of the great uplifted bow"—referring to Arch Rock on the island. The most convincing interpretation is that, like many other Indian place names, it is commemorative. The endings "ong, ang, ing," and the French "ac," are locative, meaning "place of," so the original name quite probably meant "place of the Mishinimaki," an ancient tribe that inhabited the island before being exterminated by the Iroquois.⁵⁷

Most present day names of this category have become better adjusted to their new appearances. Grand River, perhaps the longest

⁵⁵ Kelton, *op. cit.*, 31. Henry Gannett, *American Place Names*, U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin, 258.

⁵⁶ For discussions of the original Chippewa name and the many French renderings see, Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, 434. Kelton, "Mackinac County," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, VI (1885), 351. Edwin O. Wood, *Historic Mackinac* (New York, 1918), II, 630. John T. Blois, *Gazetteer of the State of Michigan*, 1838, 222-4.

⁵⁷ W. L. Jenks, "History and Meaning of the County Names of Michigan," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXVIII (1912), 448. Fr. Wm. Gagnieur, "Indian Place Names in the Upper Peninsula," *Michigan History Magazine*, II (1918), 527. Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* (Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1887) 19.

stream in the state, which empties into Lake Michigan at Grand Haven, was referred to by the natives as *Wash-ten-ong sibi*, meaning "the river that extends far off," or "far into the interior." The French substituted the word in their language that came nearest to expressing this concept and called it *La Rivière Grande*, and from that it became the Grand River.⁵⁸ Incidentally, highway U.S. 16, or Grand River Avenue, which extends from downtown Detroit to Lansing, Grand Rapids, and Grand Haven, on Lake Michigan, follows an early Indian trail and takes its name from the Grand River which it parallels the last half of the distance.

Another river whose present name has had a similar history is the Shelldrake which empties into Whitefish Bay in Lake Superior. The Chippewas called it *Anzeego sibi* for a species of wild duck which frequented it. The French *voyageurs* translated the name into their language and called it *La Rivière aux Bec Scies*, and the English translated this into the Shelldrake (modern sawbill or merganser duck).⁵⁹ The name of the river which empties into Lake Michigan at Frankfort attained its present name in much the same way except that the same French name, *La Rivière aux Bec Scies*, was transliterated into the Betsie River. Point Betsie, the big sand dune ridge that separates Crystal Lake from Lake Michigan, takes its name from the river.⁶⁰

Manitou Payment, a high barren bluff about twenty-five miles west of Point St. Ignace on the old fur trade route along the north shore of Lake Michigan, obtained its present name in a similar manner. It is the fabled location where Manabozho, Chippewa legendary hero, disguised himself and shot an evil manitou with such force that his arrow caused the high bank to crumple into the lake, and as a result it is still bare. The Chippewa name for this prominent landmark was *Manitou Pimwa*. The French *voyageurs* transliterated it into *Manitou Payement*, and from this came the modern English equivalent.⁶¹

Across on the Lake Huron side of the state where the city of Alpena is located is a relatively large indentation in the land now called Thunder Bay. This is a direct translation of the French *L'Anse du tonnerre* which was itself very likely a translation of a

⁵⁸ Jenks, *op. cit.*, 453.

⁵⁹ Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 538; III (1919) 419.

⁶⁰ Jenks, *op. cit.*, 474.

⁶¹ Kelton, *op. cit.*, 34-36. Gagnieur, "Indian Place Names," *Michigan History Magazine*, II (1918), 552.

Chippewa name. The Indians had a legend that this bay was particularly susceptible to sudden electric storms.⁶²

The islands in northern Lake Michigan have also acquired their present names in this same manner. Beaver Island was called by the Indians *Amikokenda*, home of the beavers. The *voyageurs* translated this into *Isle du Castor*, and in modern English it became Beaver Island.⁶³ About two thirds of the distance to the mainland eastward from the Beavers is a small glacial island normally not more than an acre in area. Built upon it, however, is a high-powered navigation light, and most vessel courses northward to the Straits converge upon it. The island is, therefore, well known to Great Lakes sailors. The Indian name for it, if it ever had one, is lost, but the *voyageurs* called it simply *Isle aux galets*, or gravel island, and it is still so designated on all official U.S. charts of the area. Sailors, innocent of the French language, have for at least a century called the island "Skill-a-ga-lee," a somewhat meaningless, but memorable name. Another small island, about four miles north, marked the old channel through Gray's Reef Shoal, which all vessels on that course must clear before turning eastward into the Straits of Mackinac. The island was known to the Chippewas as *Wogoshes miniss*, or Little Fox island. The *voyageurs* did the best they could to preserve the Indian name and made it into *Waugoshance* and also applied the name to the narrow point of land and shoal that reaches out to it from the tip of the mainland. The point still wears the French label on all present day official charts. Lakesmen are also well acquainted with this landmark, or were before a new channel was blasted through Gray's Reef, but to them it has for generations been "Wobble Shanks," or "The Shanks." A stanza from a breezy song of the schooner era reads:

We made Skillagalee and Wobble Shanks,
The entrance to the Strait;
We might have passed the whole fleet there,
If they'd hove-to and wait;
But we drove 'em all before us
The nicest you ever saw
Clear out into Lake Huron
Through the Straits of Mackinac.

University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Michigan

⁶² Landon, *op. cit.*, 64.

⁶³ Gagnieur, *op. cit.*, 412.

JAWINIKOM'S TALE*

By LOUISE J. WALKER

It was winter in Northern Michigan. The snow was deep around the cabin of Nenyashe when John and I entered it. Inside it was warm and cozy. Old Jawinikom, the grandfather of Nenyashe, was making a bow and arrow for John. His only tool was an old skinning knife, yet he shaped the tough, white ironwood as truly as though he were using a plane, a drawknife, and a rasp.

While Jawinikom continued to work, the men sat smoking and listening to the radio. The fierce North wind yelled and howled around the cabin. Finally because the reception was very poor, Nenyashe turned off the radio with a grunt of disgust. "No good, too much static," he said.

Old Jawinikom grinned.. "If I heard radio when I was young man, I would surely think Mautchi Manito get me. You know Mautchi Manito, John? That's bad spirit like Devil." Then he went on whittling the bow.

Nenyashe yawned and stretched out his feet toward the stove. "I'd like to sleep all winter like a bear, then wake up come spring and eat lots," he remarked. Old Jawinikom snorted. "You lazy; like sleep and eat all the time. Better go out on sand hill and sleep forever like Makwa Shinge Shin." Nenyashe laughed and replied, "It's too cold."

"What's Makwa Shinge Shin?" I asked. "Makwa means bear. What's the rest of it?"

"Sleeping Bear," Nenyashe answered. "You get the old man tell you that story. That's old time story."

"Grandfather, stop whittling that bow, smoke your pipe, and tell me the story," I demanded. He grinned, laid down the bow and lighted his pipe.

"I think maybe you are too old for Injun story," he teased. "That story's for a papoose." His one eye twinkled.

"You tell me that story or I'll get Mautchi Manito in here," I threatened.

"Well all right, I guess maybe you don't grow up yet. I tell it."

"Long time ago, very long time, everything lots bigger than

* (Professor Walker writes: "I have been interested for fifteen years in collecting the folklore of the Chippewas. It has occurred to me that possibly the readers of *Midwest Folklore* would enjoy reading a story as it was told to me by an aged Indian. I have tried to reproduce it as nearly like the original story as I could." Curiously, this is one of the best known tourist legends in Michigan. There is a separate folder on "Sleeping Bear Dunes" in the Michigan State College Folklore Archives. R. M. D.)

now. People, animals all bigger. Wabasso, the rabbit, he's big like cow. Bear, he's big like big house. One time over across lake,—what's Wisconsin now—everybody hungry. People hungry, got no grub. Many die. Animals got no grub. They die too.

"Old she bear, she got two cubs, very hungry. Cubs they cry all time; ask mother for food. She ain't got food. She feel very bad, and she's hungry too. Plenty food in Michigan. People eat lots, get fat. Bears eat and put on lot of fat for winter's sleep.

"Old Makwa, she bear, walk up and down Wisconsin shore and look over to Michigan. Cubs they follow up and down and make loud noise for grub. Makwa knows there's lots to eat over in Michigan, but it's a long swim. Sixty to seventy miles. Long swim for cubs and they ain't in no shape for such a long trip. Nothing else to do though, so she tells 'em 'Come we go swim to Michigan; lots of good grub there—roots, honey, sweet corn, everything good.'

"So they start. They swim slow so they don't get tired out. Old Makwa she's goin pretty good, but cubs they get tired. She helps 'em along and they keep on, awful slow. By and by, they got about twelve miles from Michigan. One cub, he can't go no farther. Makwa, she try for to encourage him, tells him about all the good grub in Michigan, and tries to hold him up. No good. Cub, he sinks in lake. Makwa feels very bad and does best she can with other cub, but about two miles farther, other cub gives out. Can't go on. Sinks to bottom in spite of all Makwa can do.

"Makwa swims on, gets to shore, most all in. She haul herself up on big sand hill and look out over Lake Michigan where cubs drowned. She feels awful bad. She cry to Gitchi Manito and ask why he take her cubs. She don't want to eat. Just want to die for she feels so bad. She lay on sand hill and look at lake. Then she see two islands begin to come up out of water. Beautiful islands, one ten miles out, and the other two miles beyond just where cubs sunk.

"She thank Gitchi Manito, and then he put her to sleep there on big sand hill. White men call her 'Sleeping Bear Point.' We say, 'Makwa shinge shin'. These two islands where cubs sunk, they are named Manitou Islands where people go for the summer. That's how Injun tell story. You like it?"

"Good story, Grandfather. Now I'm going home to tell it to my family."

"Bojhu" we called gaily to our friends standing in the doorway, but our voices were lost in the fury of the storm and we were forced to hurry to the shelter of the pines that bordered the snowfilled road.

CZECH AND SLOVAK SONGS COLLECTED IN DETROIT

By BRUNO NETTL AND IVO MORAVCIK

The material presented here was collected in Detroit, in the fall of 1954.¹ The informant, age 28, is an immigrant from Czechoslovakia who came to the United States in 1948. He spent part of his childhood in a rural section of Moravia and learned these songs through oral tradition. Czech and Slovak are Slavic languages which are mutually intelligible. Thirteen of the songs in this paper, plus the two children's rhymes, are Czech; five songs are Slovak.

The texts of most of the songs are lyrical. There is one narrative song, no. 18, a Slovak ballad. It is typical of the ballads of that area, many of which deal with robbers and outlaws. The hostility it displays towards the Hungarians is of course indicative of historic conditions. A number of the songs deal with peasant life and agriculture, for example nos. 2, 3, 6, 8, 13, and 14. Humor is found in nos. 3, 4, 8, and 9. No. 17 is a dance song. Nos. 19 and 20 are children's counting-out rhymes which are sometimes sung to simple melodies, as transcribed here, and sometimes recited. Several songs (nos. 7, 14, and 16) deal with courting. In general, the song-texts present a good deal of material from the culture of rural Czechoslovakia a number of decades ago. The texts can hardly be considered much older, and the same can be said of the musical aspects of the songs.

The translations given here attempt to give the moods and spirit of the songs without being literal. All strophes of the songs are translated, but only one of the original Czech is given in the transcriptions. Meaningless syllable refrains are transliterated in the translation so that they will be pronounced correctly in English.

The musical style of the songs is relatively unified as far as the various regions of origin are concerned. Only in over-all form does a difference between the Czech and Slovak songs appear, and this difference is only statistical. The range of the songs (except nos. 19 and 20) is an octave, or slightly more or less. The scales are almost invariably diatonic, and the mode is usually major. Even the Slovak songs are in major mode, although many from that area in other collections use various modes. In rhythm the songs tend to be simple. With the exception of nos. 1 and 6, they are isometric, that is, they preserve the same metric structure throughout. The musical meters

¹ The junior author acted as informant and translator. The senior author is responsible for the musical aspects of the paper.

are always simple, with two, three, or four beats per measure. Nos. 2 and 16 are isorhythmic; a rhythmic pattern is repeated throughout the song, each time with a slightly different melody. In all these respects the Czech and Slovak songs exhibit characteristics different from those of other Slavic and Eastern European styles. Rather they tend to approximate the folk music of Austria, Germany, and Italy, whose styles have been considerably influenced by the cultivated music of the eighteenth century. This is easily understood if the historical background of the region is considered. It is possible that at one time there existed a Czech style of folk music which was closer to those of other Slavic and Eastern groups, and that it was, in recent centuries, superseded by the style presented here. The two children's songs (nos. 19 and 20) are in a different style, typical of their genre, with small range and restricted scale.

There are some features, however, which make the Czech and Slovak songs unique in style. One of these is the tendency to use transposition, or melodic sequences. This means that a section or phrase may be repeated at a higher or lower pitch level, but otherwise intact. Most of the transpositions are upward at the interval of a fifth, or downward a second.

The over-all structure of the songs varies considerably. Indeed, of the twenty, only three have identical structure. The discussion below is illustrated by letter schemes. Exponents indicate degree of relationship, numbers in parentheses indicate intervals of transposition. Four sections or phases in a song are most common but a good many have five, six, and eight sections.

Purely progressive form² (A B C D) is found only in No. 1. Three songs have a combination of progression and repetition:

no. 19 A A B B C;

no. 20 A A B B C¹ C²;

no. 7 A B¹ A B² C D¹ C D².

Forms which are basically reverting are found in seven songs; for example:

nos. 4, 9, 13 A A B A

no. 10 A B¹ B²(2) A.

Nine of the songs have iterative elements with sequences. This type is the most important, and it is significant that all five of the Slovak songs are included. Sequences are often found in Hungarian songs; this might indicate that those in Czech songs are due

² The terms progressive, iterative, and reverting used to describe form types refer to the interrelationships among the various sections. These terms are fully explained in George Herzog, "A Comparison of Pueblo and Pima Musical Styles," JAF, XLIX (1936) 305.

originally to Hungarian influence. The following schemes are found in the iterative-transposing type:

- no. 2 $A^1 A^2(3) A^3 (2) A^1$;
- no. 5 $A^1 A^2(5) B^1 B^2$;
- no. 8 $A^1 A^2(3) B C^1 C^2$;
- no. 11 $A^1 A^2(2) B C$;
- no. 14 $A^1 A^2(5) B A^3$;
- no. 15 $A^1 A^2(5) B B C$;
- no. 16 $A^1 A^2 B^3(6) A^3$;
- no. 17 $A^1 A^2(5) B A^1$;
- no. 18 $A^1 A^2(5) B C A^1$.

Occasionally there are sequences within phases or sections; these are not indicated in the schemes. Two of the songs (no. 6 and 7) have internal changes of tempo. In most cases the sections are of almost or exactly equal length.

It is interesting to examine the relationship of the musical structure to that of the text. For this purpose the content, rhyme scheme, musical form and musical rhythm have been compared. A variety of relationships were found; some examples follow.

Close relationship among all of these factors is found in no. 15:

$A^1 A^2(5) B B C$ (music)
 a a b b c (rhythm)
 A A B B C (text content)
 a a b b a (rhyme scheme)

Repetition is predominant in all aspects of number 2, in various ways:

$A^1 A^2(3) A^3(2) A^1$ (music)
 a a a a (rhythm)
 A A B B (text content)
 a a a a (rhyme scheme)

Musical form and text content correspond, and rhyme and rhythm agree, in no. 1:

A B C D (music and text content)
 A B C B (rhythm and rhyme scheme).

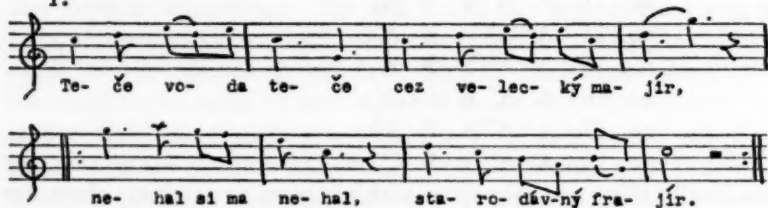
In a few songs all four elements contrast:

no. 10 $A B^1 B^2(2) A$ (music)
 a b b a (rhythm)
 A A B B (text content)
 a a a a (rhyme);
 no. 16 $A^1 A^2 B^3(6) A^3$ (Music)
 a a a a (rhythm)
 A B C D (text content)
 a a b b (rhyme scheme)

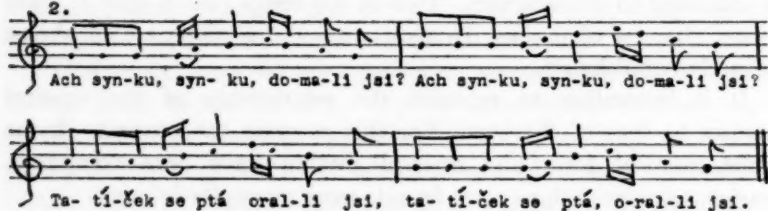
This type of comparison may illuminate some of the interest found in the songs. Each of the individual elements is simple, but the interactions among the elements make complex patterns.

CZECH SONGS

1.



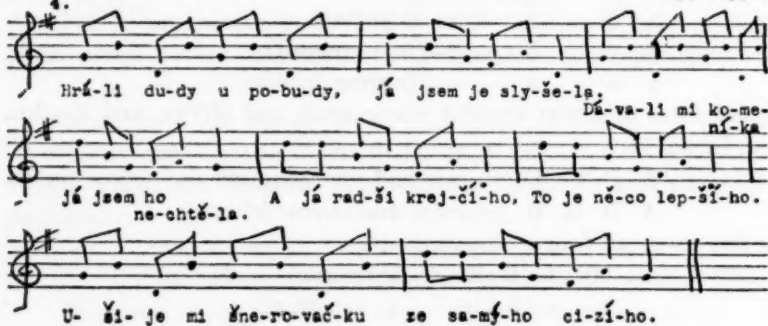
2.



3.



4.

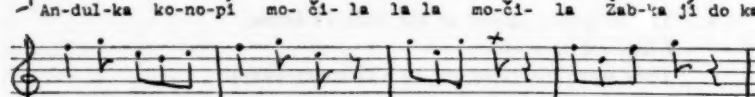
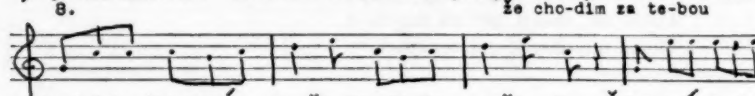
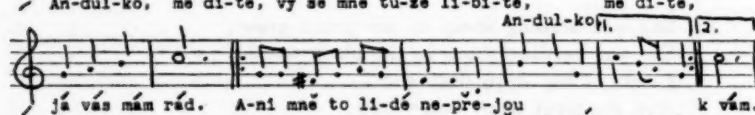
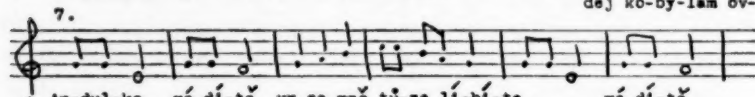
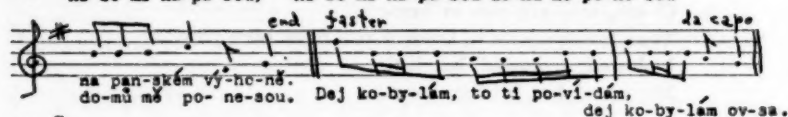
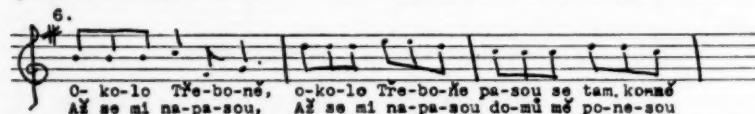
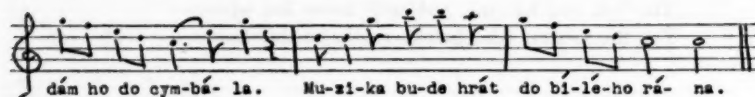
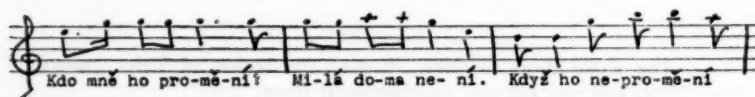
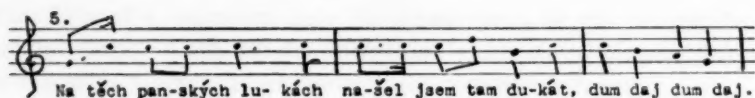


1. The water flows, it flows, through the region of Velec [town],
You left me, left me, old-fashioned lover.
You left me, left me, you well know for whom,
For the person who brings gossip to our home.

2. O son, son, are you at home?
Your father wants to know if you have been plowing.
I plowed, I plowed, but little;
My wheel has broken down.

3. She was herding sheep in the green grove,
She was herding sheep in the black woods.
I went at her, dupy dupy dup;
And she went tsupy tsupy stup.
Come on, sheep, get all together,
Come on, sheep, get together.

4. The bagpipes played at the tramp's house,
I listened to them.
They were marrying me to a chimney-sweep;
I didn't want him.
I prefer a taylor,
That is something better.
He will make me a corset
Out of foreign cloth.



5. In the master's meadows
I found a ducat.
Who will change it for me?
My sweetheart is not at home.
If she won't change it
I'll put it in the cymbal.
The music will play
Until daylight.
6. Around Trebon, around Trebon,
Horses are grazing on the lord's field.
Give the horses, I'm telling you,
Give the horses oats.
When they have had their fill
They will carry me home.
7. Ann, my child,
You please me very much.
Ann, my child,
I love you.
People envy me
That I am courting you.
People envy me
That I go to your home.
8. Ann soaked hemp in the water,
A little frog jumped into her pocket.
The next day she soaked flax,
The little frog jumped out, out, out, of her pocket,
The little frog jumped out of her pocket.

Žab-ka jí z ka-pič-ky skočí-la ven ven ven sko-čí-la ven.
Žab-ka jí z ka-pič-ky

9.
Pod du-bem, za du-bem mě-la jed-no dvě Ne-chtě-la mi o-bě dát,
Čer-ve-ná žáb-lič-ka, da-la jed-no mně.

za-ča-la se vy-mlou-vat, že ne-má, že ne-dá, že je o ně zle.

10.
Čer-né o-či jdě- te spát. Čer-né o-či jdě-te spat

však mu-sí-te rá- no vstát, však mu-sí- te rá-no vstát.

11.
To-va-čov To-va-čov, to-va-čov-ske ha-tě, ne-mo-hu, má milá

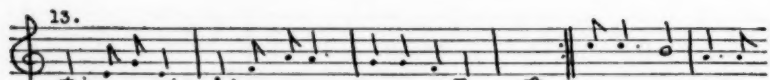
za-po-me-nout na ťa. Hu-ja hu-ja-ja Hu-ja hu-ja-ja Hu-ja hu-ja-ja juch.

12.
O Vel-va- ry O Vel- va- ry, kde jsou mé to- la- ry? end

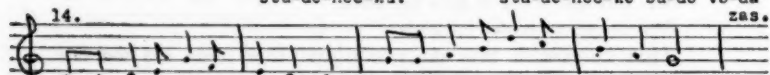
da capo

Jed jsem, pil jsem ho-do- val jsem, hez-ké hol-ky mi-lo-val jsem.

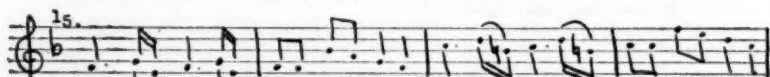
9. Under the oak, behind the oak,
She had one, two
Red apples; she gave one to me.
She did not want to give me both,
She began to make excuses
That she hasn't, that she won't give, that there are too few.
10. Black eyes, go to sleep,
You have to get up in the morning.
In the morning, morning, morning
Before the sun rises.
11. Tovacov, the woods of Tovacov, [name of a town]
I cannot forget you, dear one.
Hu ya, hu ya ya (etc.)
12. O Velvary, o Velvary [name of a town]
Where are my dollars?
I ate, I drank, I feasted,
I loved pretty girls.
O Velvary, o Velvary,
Where are my dollars?

13.

 Pod tím na-ším o-ké-neč-kem bý-vá vel-ký mráz. Vez-mem si já ske-
 A v tej na-šej stu-de-neč-ke ne-ní vo-da zas.

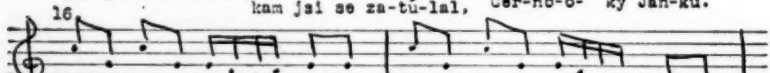
reč-ku, pre-ru-bem tu A vtej na-šej
 stu-de-neč-ku. stu-de-neč-ke bu-de vo-da
 zas.

14.

 Pří-di ty šu-haj-ko rá-no k nám. U-vi-díš čo já to ro-bie-vám.

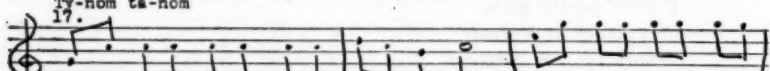
Já rá-no vstá-vám, krá-vy na-pa-jám, o-več-ky na po-le vy-há-ňám.

15.

 Čer-ná vl-na na bí-lém be-rán-ku Čer-ná vl-na na bí-lém be-rán-ku.

Kam jsi se za-tú-lal kam jsi se za-tú-lal, Čer-no-o ký Jan-ku.

16.

 Tý-nom tá-nom na ko-peč-ku stá-la, Tý-nom tá-nom na mě po-ze-ra-la.

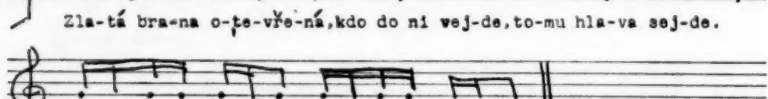
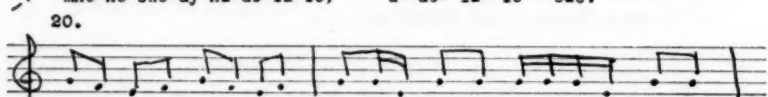
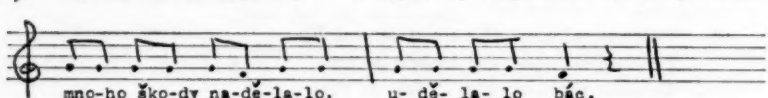
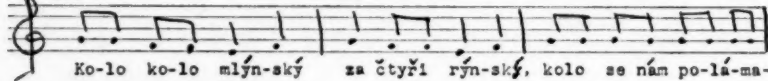
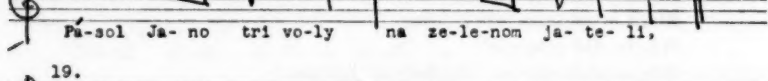
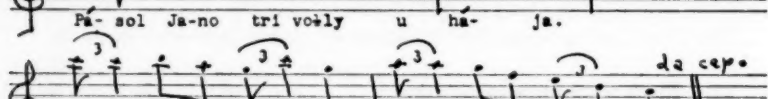
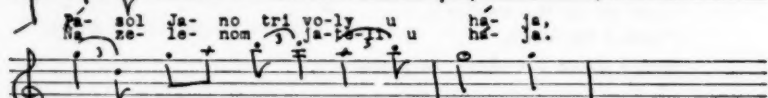
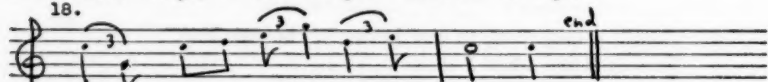
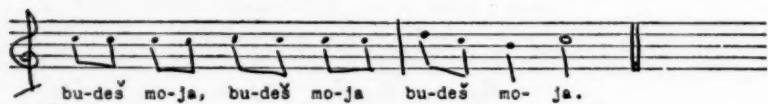
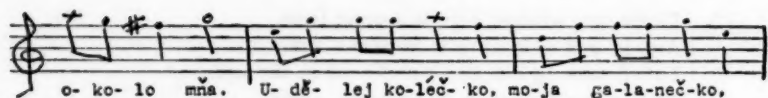
Tý-nom tá-nom ne-po-ze-raj na mňa, Tý-nom tá-nom, i-di ty radš za mňa.

17.

 Vrt sa diev-ča, vrt sa diev-ča o-ko-lo mňa, Vrt sa diev-ča

13. Under our window here is a great frost,
And in our well there is no water again.
I shall take an axe and cut the ice in the well,
And in our well there is no water again.

SLOVAK SONGS

14. Come, young man, to our house in the morning,
You shall see what I do.
I get up in the morning,
I water the cows,
And I drive the sheep to pasture.
15. Black wool on a white ram,
Black wool on a white ram,
Where did you go?
Where did you go, black-eyed Johnny?
16. Teenom tahnóm, she stood on a hill,
Teenom tahnóm, she looked at me.
Teenom tahnóm, don't look at me,
Teenom tahnóm, but marry me.
17. Turn, turn, turn around me, girl.
Make a little circle, sweetheart, you shall be mine.
If it weren't for you, dear, if it weren't for you,
They would have caught me and taken me as a recruit.



18. John was herding three oxen by the wood,
 John was herding three oxen by the wood,
 John was herding three oxen in the clover,
 In the green clover by the wood.

Bandits came at him by the wood,
 Bandits came at him by the wood,
 Bandits came at him, Hungarian foresters,
 Those Hungarian foresters by the wood.

John, give us your jacket by the wood, [twice]
 John, give us your jacket, you've been grazing on our clover,
 Grazing on our clover by the wood.

I won't give you the jacket by the wood [twice]
 I won't give you the jacket, I shall fight you instead,
 I shall fight you instead by the wood.

So they fought with John by the wood [twice]
 So they fought with John until they killed him,
 Until they killed John by the wood.

John lies dead in the forest by the wood [twice]
 John lies dead in the forest, covered with rosemary,
 Covered with rosemary, by the wood.

CZECH COUNTING-OUT RHYMES

19. Wheel, mill-wheel,
 Worth four ducats.
 The wheel broke down,
 Did a lot of damage,
 Did "batz."
20. The golden gate is open.
 Whoever enters it will be beheaded,
 Be it this one or that one,
 We shall hit him with a broom.

Wayne University
Detroit Institute of Technology

Detroit, Michigan

1955 INDIAN FESTIVAL SCHEDULE, LOWER PENINSULA

All of the programs are organized and performed by the Indians themselves, except for the "Naming Ceremony", which has been commercialized by a group of white men.

1. Weekend July 4. *Chippewa Pageant*, for Centennial of Isabella Reservation. Native dances and songs in natural amphitheatre; displays of basketry and other artifacts. Inquire Eli Thomas, R R 5, Mount Pleasant.
2. Weekend July 23. *Ottawa Naming Ceremony*, Harbor Springs stadium. Though now greatly changed, this developed from an all-Indian Hiawatha pageant at Round Lake near Petoskey. This, again, was transferred about 1910 from Garden River Reserve, Ontario.
3. Sundays throughout August, possibly also July. *Ottawa Sun Ceremony*. Alternate Sundays in Harbor Springs and Cross Village. Inquire Joseph Kishigo, Harbor Springs.
4. August 13-14. *Intertribal Powwow*, Charlton Park near Hastings, on ancient Potawatomi camp grounds. Indian programs, log rolling contest, displays of crafts, and other events. Inquire Eli Thomas.

Camp Meetings: Methodist-Indian camp meetings rotate throughout the summer, with week-long revivals in Greensky Hill, Kiwedin, Oscoda, Mount Pleasant, Walpole Island, Athens, and other locations. Inquire Betty Pamp, R R 5, Mount Pleasant.

—G. K.

THE MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY FOLKLORE ARCHIVES

By RICHARD M. DORSON

A course in American Folklore was first authorized at Michigan State College in the winter of 1947. The Archives dates from the inception of that course, "History 230." Each student was required to turn in a collection of material gathered from informants, and these collections were saved and stored together. I owe the idea to Louis C. Jones, who showed me his archives, built up from his classes at the New York State College for Teachers, when I visited him in Albany in the spring of 1944. He solved the problem of sorting out and classifying his materials by permitting students who were unable to collect to receive credit for archival work; but as yet I have not attempted this device. Year after year the collections piled up, since the course was offered twice a year, and being open to all undergraduates, from freshman to seniors, the enrollment always ran over fifty and once reached a hundred and twenty-five. Luckily, from the outset I distributed a form sheet requiring the students to document their collections. Each item was to be listed on a separate sheet; the name of the informant, and place and date of collecting, were given in the upper right-hand corner, and the name and address of the collector in the lower right-hand corner. With the collectanea the student turned in a list of his informants, including data about their age, occupation, residence, and nationality, and a three-by-five card enumerating the types of items secured. The student-collectors were urged to write sketches about their major informants, and give background material wherever possible. A collection could include any and all kinds of valid folklore.

Some refinements were eventually added to this basic form. The most important called for the separate placing of each superstition, riddle, proverb, or expression on a three-by-five card, with the names of the source above and the student below. This decision necessarily involved the transferring of these smaller items already turned in on typewritten sheets to the cards, for otherwise they could not be manipulated. Originally, a group of riddles or superstitions was treated as one unit by the collector.

As leads and sources for collecting, I recommended four possibilities. The student could set down material from his own folk-knowledge, from childhood or high-school or summer-camp or on-the-job experience, and list "Myself" as the source, with an approximate

date. Second, he could approach his family, relatives, neighbors, and home-town friends. Third, he might draw upon his own age-group, and secure the lore of the campus, or of college friends and acquaintances with diverse regional backgrounds. Fourth, he could venture into the "field," and contact strangers, according to some preconceived plan. If a particular nationality group interested him, for instance, he called up the International Institute in his city, or the appropriate minister or priest, or even the Counselor for Foreign Students on campus; he explained his purpose, and asked for help. In addition, printed materials could be included in the collection, if they came from out-of-the-way or ephemeral sources, and were properly identified. The class lectures, and the assigned reading books, were intended to suggest collectable materials to the students, and enable them to recognize living folklore.

Nevertheless, for all its hundreds of documented collections, the archives remained an inanimate lump. It lacked one indispensable, vitalizing force—an archivist. In the fall of 1953, my good friend, Aili Kolehmainen Johnson, whom I had first met when collecting tales in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in 1946, offered to put the archives on a workable basis. We transported the mass of collections to her home in Utica, outside Detroit (where husband Norman worked as national sales-promotion manager of Chevrolet), and Aili set up shop in a spare room. All year long she divided and subdivided, classified and reclassified, mostly as a labor of love, save for a token stipend from the All-College Research Fund. The mere acquisition of folders and file boxes became a major expense item, and General Motors contributed with habitual munificence, if unwittingly, through certain discreet withdrawals of manila folders by faithful Norman. I engaged in similar forays upon my departmental stores.

At the year's end Aili had activated the archives. She had dismembered eight hundred collections, and arranged their sheets according to homogeneous units. We had long discussions about the classificatory principles involved, and which elements should take precedence in the sifting. Was geography, or nationality, or typology, the most important factor? How far should the archives go in the process of internal splintering? Aili hoped to reach the subtle divisions of the Motif-Index, and found one section of material, ghostly visitations, thick enough for a breakdown on the basis of the Motif numbers.

As matters now stand, the Archives rests in my office, with a good deal more work to be done, but in usable and consultable shape. The Archives is open for business.

A fundamental question in considering the value of an Archives based on student collections must always be the trustworthiness of the students. These undergraduates are inexperienced amateurs, and some conceivably might fabricate or falsify their material. The pitfalls of field work are well illustrated in the mishap that befell an excellent student of mine, Mary Moran, an editor on the college paper, who secured a sheaf of peddler's cries from an old woman in Greenville. The informant claimed to have originally chanted these in her youth, as a means of selling goods, but could no longer recite them from memory. However, she let Mary copy the cries from her notebook. Collateral evidence supported the crying of wares in Greenville in an earlier day; a citizen of the town assured me that had been standard practice. A deadline loomed for our folklore column in *Michigan History*, and the day before sailing abroad I had Mary send her article into the magazine. On returning, I learned that Herbert Halpert had neatly pinned the cries to a printed source.*

Actually Mary had collected her lore faithfully, and reported accurately the manner of its acquisition. Not the student but the informant deceived. The object lesson here emphasizes once again the strict necessity to rely on oral rendition. The Archives provides a check against all its materials, since every item carries the name of informant and collector. A consultant wishing to verify any tradition can revisit its deliverer.

Temptations to copy or forge materials are lessened in several ways. Allowing students to collect from their own age-groups and from the immediately accessible campus folklore eases the pressure of the assignment. Further, printed sources of a fugitive nature, such as cuttings from newspapers and magazines, or locally printed pamphlets, can quite legitimately be included in the collection. Little reason for fraud therefore exists, since a minimum collection involves less effort than does creating or copying. For a good grade the student will need to travel beyond his own circle, but the less enterprising can still find excitement in discovering folk matter in the dormitory and frat house. Nevertheless, if invalid material does seep into the Archives, it eventually comes to light in the process of sifting and classifying. Exact duplications rest side by side; literary scripts stand out starkly. Mrs. Johnson discovered one report borrowed from her own book of Finnish folktales. Yet I would rate the Archives in toto immeasurably higher than the diluted and rewritten books of "folklore" annually foisted on a gullible public.

* "The Source of the Greenville Peddler's Cries," *Michigan History*, XXXIII (June, 1949), 162-163, referring to her article, "Old Peddler's Cries from Greenville," in the December, 1948, issue.

One criticism cannot be gainsaid. These students spell by ear and write by instinct. Orthography and grammar play no part in their lives. Their collections represent the raw folkstuff, unpolished and unretouched by the refinements of Fowler's English Usage.

When all cavils are made, the record shows an impressive achievement on the part of these young undergraduates. Many have succumbed to the infectious virus of folklore, and have collected with enterprise and intensity. Usually they regret not having started sooner ("If I'd only known about folklore last summer!"), and not being able to continue longer. This past term one student made a special trip to Jackson Prison to interview lifers and gather prison lore. Another shipped a recording machine to Florida, and asked a friend of his, now retired, who had lived in Seney during the roaring days of the lumber camps, to dictate from his store of lumberjack legends. A third, Jim Johnston, a six-foot, seven-inch ex-Army flyer, so overflowed with tales himself that two other students used him as an informant, and I recorded an hour of his anecdotes and songs. During the course Jim noted down all the stories that thronged back to his mind, and accumulated over two hundred; never did a lecture pass without some variant from Jim to top my own example. Each class produces its talented individuals with the flair for recognizing, appreciating, and tracking down folklore. Back in 1949 an unassuming little girl turned in a mammoth and variegated collection, which made Mary Greenman (daughter of the University of Michigan anthropologist, Emerson F. Greenman; she is now Mrs. Herbert David) co-winner of the first Jo Stafford prize in American folklore.

One recurrent problem facing student as well as professional collectors involves vulgar and obscene material. Every year the same questions are asked me about this matter: "Shall I include real raunchy stories and songs?" My answer is, "Collect whatever you find in oral tradition that meets the tests of folklore. Scientific collectors do not edit and expurgate their field data." In consequence, the Archives contains its honest share of anal and genital motifs, especially in the section on College Folklore. (Some informants therefore ask to remain anonymous, or to have their contributions treated confidentially.) This position perhaps invites some trouble, but a contrary one invites more, because if folklorists decide ahead of time what the folk shall tell them, they falsify the record and mutilate the lore. At any rate the facts of life as occasionally reflected in folklore cannot be avoided; when they are wholly suppressed, "fakelore" emerges. Part of the maturing process for the

student, in biology or folklore, depends on the instructor's sensible handling of taboos.

When the patient zeal of the archivist has systematically classified the manuscripts accumulated over the years, a many-chambered storehouse of traditions rises into view. Thousands of interviews have captured tens of thousands of items of floating lore. On the present count of some 800 student collections, averaging at a conservative estimate twenty-five pages, the Archives runs to 20,000 pages. (Sixty-five more reports came in after the fall term in 1954.) Their classification uncovered lore of eighty-three countries around the world, of thirty-five states besides Michigan, of fifty-one counties in Michigan. Many areas are of course sparsely represented, but others fill bulky folders, which require further subdivision.

Since the Archives was transferred from Mrs. Johnson's home to my office this past fall, I have used it twice for annotations. Once the Archives supplied thirty-three variants of a local legend labeled "The Death Car." In every class half a dozen or more members will tell for truth accounts of a Buick offered for sale cheaply in a particular city, because the smell of death lingered in the car. By a strange chance I recently came upon an eye-witness description of "The Death Car," and turned to the Archives for the host of similar but unverified cases. Again, in writing up a collection of Jewish-American dialect jests, I found a score of texts in the Archives useful for comparative reference, although I had never discussed Jewish humor in class.

An Archives grows like a pliant and sensitive organism. It can divide and subdivide into more specialized parts, and reveal hidden and unsuspected properties. Although I read closely and take notes on every student collection, novel patterns and formations of lore emerge in the filing cabinets. As a stimulus to the class in folklore, the Archives performs an heroic service. Instead of the wastebasket, permanent files become the receptacle of the term papers. An instructor who refers frequently to the Archives, and invites the students to visit and inspect the holdings, will see a gratifying esprit de corps develop. In a state-supported institution, the Archives can win friends for the college and the cause of folklore by offering its information to librarians, school teachers, and local organizations in the state seeking counsel on folklore materials. Among the fraternity of folklorists at large, with more professional and technical demands, the Archives may furnish examples of both new and familiar variants. Meanwhile, a file of splendid informants steadily grows, waiting for the time when experienced collectors can tap their riches.

CONTENTS OF THE ARCHIVES

The materials in the Archives are distributed in seven file boxes, as follows. (They will be kept in my office, 404 Morrill Hall Building.)

File Box I: European Folklore (46 countries)

Marked folders contain folklore of the following countries: Albania, Arabia, Armenia, Austria, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Gypsy, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Lapland, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Moravia, Netherlands, Norway, Palestine, Persia (Iran), Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Scotland, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, Wales, Yugoslavia.

It will be noted that a number of these countries now exist only in the memories of immigrants.

The bulkier folders are in the process of further subdivision. E.g., Sweden is divided into the following sub-folders: Swedish-American lore; Swedish beliefs; Swedish belief tales; Swedish custom; Swedish dialect; Swedish history; Swedish Märchen; Swedish folksong.

File Box II: Folklore of non-European Countries, Islands, and Special Groups (37 countries)

Marked folders contain folklore of the following areas and groups. *North America*: Alaska, Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico.* *West Indies*: Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad. *Central America*: Costa Rica, Guatemala, Panama, Spanish Honduras. *South America*: Bolivia, British Guiana, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Venezuela. *Pacific*: Australia, Guam, Hawaii, New Zealand, Philippines, South Pacific Islands. *Far East*: Burma, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaya, Pakistan, Thailand, Tibet. *Africa*: Belgian Congo, Egypt, Nigeria.

Special groups: American Indian, American Negro, Jewish, Mixed Nationality Lore, Mixed Nationality Jokes.

An example of the breakdown for a large folder can be seen with the Jewish material: Beliefs, Belief Tales, Biblical and Miracle Tales, Custom, Dialect Tales, Humor, Songs, Wise Tales.

File Box III: American Oral History, Local Legends, and Occupational Lore

For oral history and legend, special folders are marked for Famous People (Financiers, Presidents, Western Heroes and Outlaws); Murders and Suicides, Pioneer-Indian Accounts, Indian Lovers' Leaps, and War Sagas (Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Spanish-American War, World War I).

Michigan oral history and legends are found in the following special folders: Catholic Priests in Michigan, Inland Lakes, Inland Lake Names, Lost Children in Michigan, Lynchings in Michigan, Mormons in Michigan, Pigeons in Michigan.

Lore of the Great Lakes is subdivided into Beliefs, Belief Tales, Captains, Sailors' Humor, Shipwrecks, and Songs. Riverboat Lore has its own folder.

Fifty-one Michigan counties have folders for local history and legends. Two towns have folders: Birch Run and Detroit.

Stories of the following Michigan place names are separately filed: Ann Arbor, Bad Axe, Battle Creek, Cheboygan, Ishpeming and Negaunee,

* Dora Jean Peppler published from her collection "Mexican Folktales from Lansing," in *Michigan History*, XXXI (Dec. 1947), 444-451.

Kalamazoo, Lansing, Marcellus, Mt. Clemens, Muskegon, Novi and Mio, Ontonagon, Saginaw, Sleeping Bear Dunes, Ypsilanti.

Besides Michigan, the following states are represented by folders containing local legends and place names: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New England (as a unit), New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

Occupational Lore is divided into collections about Actors, Automobile Race Drivers, Barbers, Carpenters, Circus Workers, Clerks and Salesmen, Construction Workers, Cowboys, Doctors and Nurses, Factory and Mill Workers, Farmers, Horse Racing, Lumberjacks, Mining Lore, Ministers, Musicians, Newspaper Reporters, Organized Labor Unions, Printers, Railroaders, Sailors, Sports, Telephone Operators, World War II—Armed Services.

Further breakdowns have been required for Lumberjacks, Mining Lore, Railroaders, Sports, and World War II. Sports are divided into Baseball, Football, Golf, Hockey, Tennis. World War II is divided into Custom and Tradition, G. I. Beliefs, G. I. Belief Tales, Humor, Language, U. S. Cavalry Lore.

File Box IV: Local Characters and Jokes, Beliefs and Belief Tales

Local characters are classified as Drunkards, Hermits, Lazy People, Liars, Numskulls, Slovenly People, Stingy People, and Tricksters.

Jokes are not easily grouped, but two folders hold Jokes about Children, and Jokes about the Clergy.

Beliefs are first separated into Michigan and Other States. The Michigan Beliefs are filed in six folders holding about 400 pages, which average 15 superstitions to a page, or approximately 6000 beliefs. Beliefs for Other States run to about 200 pages, or approximately 3000 beliefs. Each superstition is documented with informant's name and address, and collector's name. The superstitions need to be cross-checked and transferred to 3 x 5 cards. About 170 pages have been separately filed, where students have listed one kind of a belief on a page, under the following categories: Animal, Card Players, Death, Good Luck and Bad Luck, Prophecy, Weather, Weddings, Wishing.

Folk Cures runs to about 200 pages of material, which also needs to be transferred to 3 x 5 cards for more convenient reference.

Belief Tales represent one of the richest categories of all. They have been subdivided into Birthmarks, Births, Buried Alive, Buried Treasure, Curses, Dreams, Healers (Bloodstoppers, Diviners, Prophets), Monsters and Abnormalities, Strange Phenomena, Supernatural Phenomena. The aim is to classify these belief tales according to Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, and has already been done for the material in Revenants, as follows:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| E 200-299. | Malevolent Return from the Dead. |
| E 300-399. | Friendly Return from the Dead. |
| E 402. | Mysterious Ghostlike Noises Heard. |
| E 411. | Dead Cannot Rest because of Sin. |
| E 412.3. | Dead Without Proper Funeral Rites Cannot Rest. |
| E 413. | Murdered Person Cannot Rest in Grave. |

- E 415. Dead Cannot Rest until Work is Finished.
- E 421. Spectral Ghosts.
- E 422.1.1. Headless Revenants.
- E 423. Revenants in Animal Form.
- E 425. Revenants in Human Form.
- E 492. Mass of the Dead.
- E 520. Animal Ghosts.
- E 540. Miscellaneous Actions of Ghosts.
- J 1782. Things Thought to be Ghost.
- V 222. Miraculous Manifestations.

File Box V: College and High School Lore, Customs, Folktales, Folk Speech, Proverbs, Rhymes and Jingles, Riddles, Tall Tales, Urban Lore

Folktales—which in this file do not of course include the many folktales classified under nationality groups—are subdivided into Anti-Catholic Tales, Explanatory Tales, Fables, Moral Tales, Name Origins, and Religious Tales. Urban Belief Tales (or Urban Legends) are distributed into folders holding variants of individual tales: The Death Car, The Economical Car, The Ghostly Hitchhiker, The Haunted Street, The Mysterious Letter, The Poisoned Dress, Room for One More, The Shoplifter, The Virgin and the Dentist, The Zipper. Urban Humor Tales are further divided into Catch Tales, Endless Tales, and Shaggy Dog Tales. Tall Tales are also present in large enough numbers to permit a breakdown, chiefly into individual hunting and fishing exploits: The Big Catch, The Big Fish, The Bear Escape, I'm the Biggest Liar, The Smart Dog.

High School Lore includes Chants and Yells, Limericks, Prophetic Rhymes, Textbook Inscriptions, and Verse with Literary Origins.

College Lore is broken down into College Belief Tales (e.g., The Fatal Initiation), College Humor (Absent-Minded Professors, Examinations and Cheaters, Sex in the Classroom). College Rhymes and Chants, College Sports, College Traditions (the fullest material outside MSC being Harvard University, Stephens College, the University of Minnesota, of Missouri, and of Wisconsin; a separate folder holds Sororities and Fraternities). Michigan State College Traditions are further divided into Beaumont Tower and Sparty, and Dean Conrad. Other Michigan Colleges belong to another folder.

Children's Lore falls into Children's Games (Automobile Games, Ball Games, Chasing Games, Dexterity Games, Elimination Games, Finger Plays, Forfeit Games, Games of Little Girls, Guessing Games, Hiding Games, Jumping and Hopping Games, Parlor Games, Prophetic Games); Children's Humor ("Knock-knock," Moron Jokes, Nursery Tales); Children's Rhymes (Auto-graph Verses, Counting-Out Verses, Endless Rhymes, Jumping Rope Rhymes, Nursery Rhymes, Teasing Rhymes, Tongue Twisters).

File Box VI: American Folksongs, American Fiddle Tunes, American Folk Dance.

American Folksongs are filed as follows: Ballads, Camp Songs, Children's Folksongs, College Songs, Cowboy Songs, Great Lakes Songs, Hoboes-Jails-Outlaws-and-Drunkards, Humorous Folksong, Local and State Folksongs, Lumberjack Songs, Miners' Songs, Negro Folksongs, Railroad Songs, Sailors' Songs, World War II Songs (2 folders).

The collection of College Folksong is varied, extensive and unique. Tunes are provided for most of the individual songs, and considerable data is submitted on the background of the songs and their prevalence at various colleges. There are also tape and disc recordings of several of the best known college songs. There is enough material here for a complete study of modern college folksongs.

File Box VII: Printed Sources, Student Folklore Essays, Plagiarists, Informant Lists, Student Class Lists.

Printed sources are drawn from newspaper and magazine clippings, pictures, and similar materials. They are divided into Diaries and Scrapbooks, Foreign Lands, Hunting and Fishing, Local Characters, Michigan State College, Pioneers, Place Names, Songs, Tall Tales.

Informant Lists (804) cover the following course periods: Winter 1947, Summer 1947 (University of Minnesota), Fall 1947, Spring 1948, Fall 1948, Spring 1949, Fall 1950, Spring 1951, Summer 1952 (Harvard University), Fall 1952, Spring 1953, Fall 1953, Spring 1954.

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Purposes and Uses of the Archives

1. To furnish information upon request to librarians, teachers, students, and other individuals or groups in Michigan interested in folklore materials.
2. To provide data on texts and parallels to scholars in and outside Michigan engaged in folkloristic research.
3. To provide information requested for radio, film and TV programs, community pageants, historical celebrations, and the like, in the state of Michigan.
4. To furnish original course materials for theses in such fields as anthropology, history, music, English literature, sociology, psychology, and education.
5. To assist in cooperative projects in the field of folklore of state or national scope: e.g., the Michigan Place Name Dictionary Project, Prof. Ivan Walton, University of Michigan, chairman; the Michigan Collection of Superstitions Project, Prof. S. A. Gallacher, Michigan State College, chairman.

Work Still To Be Done In The Archives

1. Preparing the following card indexes, to facilitate use of the Archives.
 A card index of subject matter.
 A card index of all folktales by type.
 A card index of all belief tales by motif (as indicated under *Revenants*).
2. Further classification and subdivision of the bulkier folders.
3. Transference of all superstitions, cures, proverbs, and riddles to individual 3 x 5 cards, to render them easily consultable.
4. Strengthening of the Archives by periodic revisits to outstanding informants, by trained collectors, as is done in the Irish Folklore Commission at Dublin.
5. Preparation of a pamphlet outlining the materials in the Archives, for circulation among teachers, clubs, and libraries in Michigan.

Michigan State University

East Lansing, Michigan

SUPERSTITIONS IN THE MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

By STUART A. GALLACHER

The number of offerings in this field of folklore is relatively small at present. It is certain, however, that the stock-pile will continue to grow through the efforts of the students and the activity of the superstition committee for the state project. Right now, slightly better than sixteen hundred superstitions have been recorded. Despite the apparent small size, the spectre of editing and evaluating the collection looms rather large indeed.

No great deal of editing or evaluating has as yet been done. The spadework has been the putting of about two-thirds of the items onto individual cards and the setting up of a rather free and broad system of classification for filing. The remaining third is still on typed sheets that contain other folklore materials. These items must be transferred to separate cards. This is a task that calls for much patience and a good bit of *Sitzfleisch*, if I may be permitted to borrow a word from the German. The inadequacy of our temporary system shows definitely how hard it may be to uncover a system of classification that will be easy to consult for purposes of reference and comparison. Just this type of goal, it seems to me, should be the aim of a collection such as is accumulating in the above archives.

The students have been very faithful in recording the names of each of the informants. Little or no information, however, about the informant has been given. This leaves a gap in the material necessary if one is to obtain background details of the various superstitions. Whenever possible, information as to the locality in which the superstition was heard (where current), native place of the informant, date of the recording and length of time the informant has been living in Michigan, or wherever the study is being carried on, should be recorded. Without these details it will be difficult for the editors to make any pertinent remarks about the individual superstitions. For any good comparative study every aid possible is needed.

In my own limited activity in this field I have found the following five notations to be very helpful:

1. Informant:—
2. Native of:—
3. Michigan resident since:—
4. Where first heard:—
5. Date recorded:—.

Number four cannot always be answered, but an answer should always be diligently sought after. This is one of the most important details if the collection is to be of lasting value to folklorists and students of folklore at all interested in the history and distribution of a single item.

The present temporary breakdown consists of a number of broad classifications, such as: animals of all kinds, birds of all kinds, objects, omens, actions (man and nature), numbers, weather, medicine, trades and professions, sports, food, agriculture (planting, harvesting, etc.), prophecies and the like. The range is fairly wide. The signs of a good representative cross-section of superstitions current in our complex society are clearly to be seen in this nucleus of superstitions in Michigan.

No serious attempt has been made as yet to evaluate each item at hand. When a plausible, workable number of superstitions has been gathered, the weeding out will start in earnest. To be sure some weeding out is going on constantly, but not on a scale that should prevail once the bulk reaches or nearly reaches a logical limit in size. Yet, even before such a peak is reached, criteria by which a superstition should be evaluated ought to be fairly well set down. These criteria should be determined now, before similar projects throughout the country become too large. All editors, no matter what the region in which they are laboring, should follow them for the sake of uniformity in evaluation of material in this field. A distinctly heterogeneous collection of collections of superstitions with great variance within each individual collection does not lead to a monumental achievement in folklore.

Since little good can come from collecting items of questionable propriety, criteria must be adopted immediately to aid in sifting the wheat from the chaff. Feeling alone is not reason enough to keep one superstition and reject another. There must be definite reasons for including or excluding such items as "a cat has nine lives," for instance. Is "a cat has nine lives" really a superstition? Is it perhaps only a proverbial saying that simply expresses the notion that cats are sometimes difficult to kill? Or is it a proverbial saying that has grown out of what might at one time have been a superstition somewhere. Such a dilemma is encountered with "a cat has nine lives." It rears its ugly head too many times in just a short journey through our present collection. It is an unwanted feature no collection has escaped that I have examined up to date.

Does a "superstition" limited to the experience of a single person qualify for entry in a regional collection? What constitutes the limits

of currency? What about the rational or irrational aspects? Where is the line drawn between religious belief and religious superstition? I have asked myself and others these questions for some time. Unfortunately, ideas and notions are all I have received. I still have no answers and there should be answers of some definiteness before the waters become too deep. The vast problems of arranging and planning for the final form of the collection must be faced eventually. They cannot be solved until we know what is truly a superstition and how much material we shall have with which to work. To be sure, we could follow the pattern set by the editors of the German *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* and escape these problems by having specialists write up each entry. But then, we would not have any direct reproductions of the superstitions. We would have only what the superstition was about and where it was current and in what works one might find it mentioned. As good as the *Handwörterbuch* is, its form is not the answer to the problem lying ahead of us here in Michigan and other areas where this type of work is going on. The answer can only come from sound ideas and suggestions of those vitally interested in real superstitions. I would certainly like to have expressions of ideas in this respect from any and all folklorists deeply concerned with this field of study.

A vast system of collecting will avail us not, if no standard of evaluation abides with us.

Michigan State University

East Lansing

REPORT ON WAYNE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

By THELMA JAMES

In any section of the Old Northwest Territory, history and tradition move easily together. But this pleasant and illuminating condition is nowhere as well reflected as in the Detroit Metropolitan area where colorful and significant local history provides the background for the folklore of the world's people who now live here. It has become the task of the Wayne University Folklore Archives to deal with the traditional materials of the ethnic groups of the area.

Professor Emelyn E. Gardner (now retired) brought to Wayne University her rich collecting, archiving, and editing experience in her native New York State, and, as a teacher at the Michigan State Normal College, of upstate Michigan. Thus, while the chief concern

of the Archives has been for the Metropolitan Detroit area, it contains items from Michigan and other states.

Since Miss Gardner began the Archives in 1939 by rich collections of Armenian, Italian, Polish, and Finnish lore, it has grown steadily by yearly additions. The first materials were collected by young women trained from their high school days. The general policy has been to collect any and all items at hand, with special emphasis on the lore of ethnic groups, and of the kinds until now most sought in the United States. Physical materials have been neglected for lack of space and assistance. Complete archiving, indexing, cross-indexing, typing and motifing have had to wait, for the pressure of collecting among the sixty groups resident here, steadily growing older and dying, has been great.

More than 250 manuscripts are prepared in duplicate so that while one copy remains intact, the other may be cut up and distributed on the basis of whatever archiving patterns are finally adopted. Tales have been recorded on typing paper, on tape, and discs. Shorter items like cures, games, charms, weather lore, children's rhymes, superstitions, riddles, have been kept on 3 x 5 cards, and are now cross-indexed. Cures, numbering in the thousands, have been cross-indexed by disease and curing agent.

The larger materials (such as tales and songs) have been indexed by the ethnic group of origin and each collection thereunder is in a separate folder giving reasonably adequate information for collector, year, informants, file indices (which are maintained alphabetically for both collectors and informants). An accession book is kept wherein each collection is given a sequential number with a brief notation of the amount and kinds of materials. Eventually each item will be indexed and easily found when it is denoted by number and page. For example, 37 GN-4T (1943) would mean Accession number 37 found in 1943, Norwegian, page 4, a tale (which will have its Type number and Motif analysis). But this is very time consuming and requires trained, consistent workers, hard to find. Further essential or helpful refinements are anticipated.

EUROPEAN LORE (32 COUNTRIES):

Albania, Armenia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Holland, England, Friesland, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malta, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Russia, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, Wales, Yugoslavia. (The names are those given by the older informants who still think in terms of the old, often no longer used, names of their native lands. Of these the fullest collections are: Armenian, Finnish, Italian, Polish (all widely represented in this area).

NON-EUROPEAN LORE (8 COUNTRIES):

Canada, French-Canada, Jamaica, Liberia, Mexico, South Africa, Syria, West Indies, Yucatan.

Japan, China, Korea have contributed extremely interesting and varied materials. Recently two hundred Korean proverbs have come in.

UNITED STATES:

Folklore of all kinds is represented from all of the forty-eight states except Idaho and Nevada.

MICHIGAN:

Fifteen counties, the Great Lakes. Folders of these towns: Clarkston, Detroit, Flat Rock, Gibraltar, Grosse Ile, Harbor Springs, Mount Clemens, Northville, Sebawaing, Utica, Wyandotte.

SPECIAL FOLDERS:

American Negro, American Indian, Jewish.

There is scarcely a topic from charms to voodoo which has not been touched upon. The cross-indexing of these topical items is essential for quick-finding, but it is time-consuming to complete and is not finished. In fact, the break down of all categories is a task large enough to occupy a full time archivist for a year or two.

There are also on file a series of seven albums of folk songs on discs, all of which have been transcribed as has virtually all of the music received. The Armenian songs have been sent to the Library of Congress. At present a series of slides in color dealing with folk costume and folk art in the area is being developed.

On file are 210 "Studies" which are derived from term papers and other analyses. These are chiefly valuable for a kind of over-view and elementary bibliographies of many topics. Students have developed these from either a personal or professional interest. They will now provide a fairly good starting point on scores of topics of popular interest. Former students write regularly asking for reprints or portions of their earlier work which continue to interest or serve them.

PROFESSIONAL TAPES:

Fourteen half-hour tapes have been made; they cover (with illustrations) such topics as: cures, games, proverbs, folk songs and tales, Christmas and Easter festivals. These were made for radio broadcasting by the Wayne University and large commercial radio stations. Here they constitute a well-received part of the program of adult education.

PURPOSES AND USES OF THE ARCHIVES

It has been the hope that we might cover fairly thoroughly the folklore of the ethnic groups of the Metropolitan area to the end that we might preserve this fast-disappearing lore, archive it, finally publish it. Meantime, the Archives are proving a sound resource for trained scholars who seek to know and understand the sociological, psychological, and traditional aspects of our ethnic groups.

Wayne University

Detroit, Michigan